

THE EPISCOPAL ADMINISTRATION OF MATTHEW PARKER,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1559-1575.

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Thesis submitted in the Faculty of Arts of the
University of London for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1967

ABSTRACT

This thesis sets out to examine Matthew Parker's diocesan, rather than archiepiscopal, policies and practices.

The principal features of Parker's life are outlined, the size, etc., of the diocese is described and estimates of population are included. In describing some of the features of Parker's 'orderly' policy (and the desire for order was his main motivation), impropriations, maintenance of parish church fabric, supplying of books to parish churches, providing for schools and licensing teachers, and supervision of the cathedral are touched upon. The administrative structure of the diocese is outlined, and biographical material on the commissaries general, the archdeacons and their officials, the bishop suffragan, the high commissioners and the diocesan visitors is given. One chapter describes what happened to the Marian ecclesiastics in the Elizabethan diocese of Canterbury, and another is concerned with the new clergy, the lay readers and the damage done by non-residence. Parker's first problem was to find clergy of any kind; it was only later he was able to be more particular about their qualifications. Parker's attitude to puritanism and his policies towards diocesan non-conformity is analyzed. The administration of lands and properties is described and the criticism levelled against Parker for behaving like a great lord rather than a curate of souls is noted. Chapter XIX, describes the royal taxation of the diocese---a total of over £12,000 for the period of Parker's administration---and discusses first fruits, tenths, clerical subsidies, supplies of armour, and special levies. The importance of statute law

and the re-invigoration of the ecclesiastical courts is noted. Included are maps and appended biographies of 51 cathedral prebendaries and preachers.

MSS. collections in Canterbury cathedral, the Kent County Archives Office, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Library, Lambeth Palace, Somerset House, the Public Record Office and the Bodleian Library were used.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<u>A.C.</u>	<u>Archaeologia Cantiana.</u>
adm.	admitted (to a benefice).
<u>APC.</u>	<u>Acts of the Privy Council</u> , ed. Dasent.
B.M.	British Museum.
<u>Bul. I.H.R.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.</u>
C.C.C.C. MSS.	Manuscripts in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
<u>Cal. I.S.V.</u>	<u>Calendar of Institutions Sede Vacante, Canterbury,</u> ed. C.E. Woodruff.
<u>Cal. S.P. Dom.</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</u>
<u>Cal. S.P. Rome</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Rome.</u>
<u>Cal. S.P. Span.</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Spanish.</u>
Cant. MSS.	Manuscripts in Canterbury Cathedral Library.
cl.	<u>clericus.</u>
col.	collated (to a benefice).
<u>Corresp.</u>	<u>The Correspondence of Matthew Parker.</u>
<u>C.P.R. Eliz.</u>	<u>Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Elizabeth I.</u>
<u>CQR.</u>	<u>Church Quarterly Review.</u>
C.R.S.	Catholic Record Society.
depriv.	deprived (of a benefice).
<u>DNB.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography.</u>
<u>Econ. H.R.</u>	<u>Economic History Review.</u>

<u>EHR.</u>	<u>English Historical Review.</u>
<u>Fasti</u>	<u>Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae</u> , ed. Le.Neve.
Foster, <u>AO.</u>	<u>Alumni.Oxoniensis</u> , ed. Foster.
Harl.	Harleian MSS.
<u>Harpes.</u>	<u>Archdeacon Harpesfield's Visitations...</u> (C.R.S. vols. xlv and xlvi).
<u>H.C. Mag.</u>	<u>Home Counties Magazine.</u>
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission.
<u>JEH.</u>	<u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History.</u>
Lambeth MSS.	Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library.
L. & I.	Lists and Indexes (in P.R.O.).
<u>L.J.</u>	<u>Journals of the House of Lords.</u>
Maidstone MSS.	Manuscripts in Kent County Records Office, Maidstone.
<u>N. & Q.</u>	<u>Notes & Queries.</u>
ob.	died.
<u>OED.</u>	<u>Oxford English Dictionary.</u>
ord.	ordained.
pat.	on the patronage of (some institution or person).
P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury.
<u>p.h.v.</u>	<u>pro hac vice</u> (for this one time).
PPS	Publications of the Parker Society.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
R.	rector.
<u>Reg.</u>	<u>Registrum Matthei Parker.</u>
Reg.	Register of the dean and chapter, Canterbury cathedral.

res.	resigned (an office or benefice).
<u>SR.</u>	<u>Statutes of the Realm.</u>
<u>STC.</u>	<u>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England... 1475-1640.</u>
<u>Trans. R.H. Soc.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.</u>
<u>VCH.</u>	<u>Victoria County Histories.</u>
<u>VE.</u>	<u>Valor Ecclesiasticus.</u>
Venn, <u>AC.</u>	<u>Alumni Cantabrigiensis</u> , ed. Venn.
V.	vicar

PREFACE

The rich outpouring during the last few years of studies in administrative history has altered our conception of the Tudor state, and studies of such aspects of the Tudor church as its clergy, its puritan critics, its economic problems, and its absorption of the Marian clergy are beginning to yield a much deeper understanding of ecclesiastical aspects of sixteenth century England.¹ The episcopate, however, seems to stand in particular need of study.² The very large historical literature about the gentry and aristocracy, 1540-1640, has not been matched in recent years by similar intensive studies of the episcopate. Though the value of the studies of the gentry and the aristocracy is incalculable in itself, it must be remembered that, while there were many complaints before 1640 about the gentry and the aristocracy, one of the dominant notes in the chorus of criticism in 1640 was criticism of the episcopate. Contemporary chroniclers Clarendon and Lady Hutchinson were at least agreed on that if on nothing else.³ Probably the institution in England which was most often the subject of damaging criticism between 1540 and 1640 was the episcopate.⁴ And in 1640 when the people of Kent petitioned the commons about their grievances, the central grievance was

1. See bibliography below, and G.R. Elton, 'The Problems and Significance of Administrative History in the Tudor Period', The Journal of British Studies, IV (1965), 18-28.

2. But see P.M. Hembry, 'The Bishops of Bath and Wells, 1535-1647: A Social and Economic Study' (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1956).

3. The Origins of the English Civil War, ed. P.A.M. Taylor (Boston, 1960), pp. 20-26.

4. C. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church from Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament (Oxford, 1956), passim.

Laudian policies within the diocese of Canterbury.¹ One should not exaggerate the significance of this chorus of criticism, and the material given in this thesis is an analysis of Parker's administration only, but reference to the attitude of some vocal groups towards the episcopate may help to place this study in context.

Even with the Registrar's permission to write 120,000 words (propter the biographical appendix) much detail has had to be cut, and a chapter on charity entirely deleted. However, what has been attempted, as is outlined in the table of contents, is a study of each of the important aspects of Parker's administration. ---of how the administrative machine worked, what Parker's policies were and how effectively he was able to implement them.

My first debt is to Professor J. Hurstfield of University College who has directed my research and who, when I first proposed to study Parker as a disciple of Erasmus, suggested this administrative study. A War Memorial Scholarship, renewed for a second year, from the Imperial Order the Daughters of the Empire, and a Pre-doctoral Scholarship from the Canada Council for the third year, made the study financially possible.

The courtesy and co-operation of archivists and librarians Wm. Bill at Lambeth Palace, W.G. Urry at Canterbury Cathedral, F. Hull at the Kent County Archives, Maidstone, R. Vaughan at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and of numerous people at the British Museum, the Inner Temple, the Public Record Office and Somerset House made possible the collection of the data for this thesis. The efficiency and helpfulness of A.T. Milne and of the librarians at the Institute of Historical

1. 'The Kent Petition Against Episcopacy', Proceedings Principally in...Kent in 1640, Camden Society (London, 1862). See A.M. Everitt, The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion (Leicester, 1966).

Research were also a great stimulus. Mention must also be made of the invaluable insights gained at the seminars of J. Hurstfield, J.E. Neale, S.T. Bindoff, J. Scarisbrick, F.R.H. du Boulay and F. Wormald held at the Institute of Historical Research. I am also very grateful to J.W. Brownell of the State University of New York at Cortland for drafting the maps in this study, to B.G.M. Wood, Dean of Divinity at St. John's College, University of Manitoba, for reading a chapter on the puritans, to M. Doudna of the English department of Mackinac College, Michigan for criticism of the chapter on the Marian ecclesiastics, and to typist E. Chance. Finally, the steady encouragement of friends and family has been the sine qua non of completion.

INTRODUCTION

(i) MATTHEW PARKER.

Matthew Parker¹ (1504-1575) was a scion of one of the minor gentry families of Norwich---a fact of importance for Parker's career and not the least for his administration, between 1559 and 1575, of the diocese² of Canterbury. Parker's great grandfather, an erstwhile servant of archbishop Neville and reputedly somewhat radical in his religious ideas,³ had in the mid-fifteenth century obtained a grant of arms⁴ which, significantly enough,⁵ Parker's ancestor seems to have considered to be of more value to his heirs than cash or land. Matthew Parker said that he himself was born 1 August, 1504, 'of honest parents' who were ----

1. Parker has often been fully biographed. See J. Joscelyn and M. Parker, De Antiquitate Ecclesiae Britannicae (Hanover, 1605) to which is appended Matthaeus the first life of Parker. See also The Life of the 70. Archbischopp of Canterbury... ([Heidelberg], 1574); J. Strype, The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker..., 3 vols. (Oxford, 1821); E.W. Perry, Under Four Tudors (London, 1940, 1964); V.J.K. Brook, A Life of Archbishop Parker (Oxford, 1962); DNB., and other studies referred to in C. Read, Bibliography of British History...1485-1603, second edition (Oxford, 1959), entries 1737, 1857, 2164, 2166, 2186, 2188a, 2194, 2211, 2219, 2225, 2226, 3675, 6387 and 6442.

2. With rare exceptions, capitals are not used in this thesis for titles of offices. This practice, followed in general in the Oxford History of England series, had been here adopted because, with so many references to offices and officers, if capitals had been used there would have been many pages in which, to be consistent, every fourth word or more would have been capitalized. (If Archbishop Parker and Dean Godwyn why then not Commissary General Thomas Lawse, Official Vincent Denne, Prebendary John Bale, Vicar Richard Fletcher, Churchwarden John Twyne, etc. etc?) It has seemed wiser to adopt the lower case even when such usage at first seems quite arbitrary.

3. Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500, ed. A.B. Emden (Cambridge, 1963), p. 442 sub 'Henry Parker'.

4. Perry, p. 20.

5. Cf. W.T. MacCaffrey, 'The Crown and the New Aristocracy, 1558-1640', Past and Present, number 30 (1965), 52-64; J.H. Hexter, Reappraisals in History (New York, 1963), pp. 142-49.

'citizens' of Norwich.¹ His father was engaged in the Norwich wool trade either as a merchant or perhaps, less exaltedly, as a 'calendrer of stuffs'.² Parker's mother, Alice Monins, was 'of good Kentish stock' and one of her relatives, Edward 'Monynges', esq., of the parish of Kingsdown, Kent, was patron of Waldershare rectory in the diocese of Canterbury during Parker's administration.³ When Parker was twelve years old his mother was widowed and John Baker, gent., found her to be socially, or at least financially, acceptable as a wife. Baker apparently was good to his step-children⁴ and when Parker became archbishop he did not forget his step-brothers and sisters. Especially did he not forget John Baker, junior, who was, among other things, Parker's treasurer⁵ and executor.⁶ Parker's two brothers followed careers appropriate for members of a moderately successful early Tudor gentle family: one became a clergyman and the other, Thomas Parker, was sheriff of Norwich in 1558 and mayor in 1568.⁷ Parker maintained his connection with Norwich and East Anglia. Not only was he on good terms with his brother Thomas, but as archbishop he employed several East Anglians including John Incent, Francis Aldriche, John Joscelyn and Andrew Peerson.

Parker's social and geographical origins were important in other ways too.

1. The Life off the 70. Archbishopp of Canterbury..., unpaginated.
2. Perry, p. 20; cf. OED., sub 'calender' and 'calenderer'.
3. Perry, p. 20; Registrum Matthei Parker, ed. E.M. Thompson and W.H. Frere, Canterbury and York Society (1907-1937), p. 1159. This three-volume continuously-paginated edition is hereafter referred to as Reg.
4. Perry, pp. 20, 21, 23, 86.
5. The Correspondence of Matthew Parker, ed. J. Bruce, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1853), p. 18n. (hereafter referred to as Corresp.).
6. Brook, p. 1; Reg., pp. 3, 27, 33, 53, 80, 88, 92, 415, passim; P.C.C./1575/73 ~~Pycher~~ Pyckering.
7. Brook, p. 1; Corresp., p. 19n; H.M.C., Salisbury, XII, 71-72.

The fact that Norwich was one of the busiest cities in early Tudor England¹ and that East Anglia was one of the most populous and prosperous areas in the country² may go some way towards explaining why the area from which Parker came could have had so much influence upon the rest of the country. From Parker's tenth to his twenty-fifth year, fifteen of the most impressionable years in any person's life, Thomas Cardinal Wolsey, the son of an Ipswich cattle-dealer³ or butcher,⁴ stood at the unrivalled peak of his power. Stephen Gardiner was another of Parker's early contemporaries from the same part of England. But of most importance for Parker was the fact that some of the most successful Edwardian and Elizabethan courtiers were of East Anglian origin. Thus, he came from the same 'country'⁵ as Nicholas Bacon who, though the son of a Bury St. Edmund's yeoman, is known to us as one of the most important of the inner Elizabethan circle. Except for one serious tiff, Bacon was one of Parker's close friends from at least the time they were at Cambridge. Bacon was a student at Corpus when Parker was a fellow there,⁶ and they seem to have found that their religious opinions were similar. Early in Bacon's legal career he answered (apparently gratis) a technical question for Parker⁷ and, according to Parker, it was Bacon and Cecil who guided Elizabeth on

1. W.G. Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns In the Early Sixteenth Century', Trans. R. H. Soc., 5th series, VI (1956), 1-19.

2. C. Ferguson, Naked to Mine Enemies: the Life of Cardinal Wolsey (London, 1958), pp. 7-11; A. Simpson, The Wealth of the Gentry, 1540-1660 (Chicago, 1961), p. 31.

3. Ferguson, pp. 10-11.

4. A.F. Pollard, Wolsey (London, 1929 and after).

5. In 1571 a man in Parker's diocese called himself a 'forryner' in a parish in which he had not been born. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 34v.

6. Simpson, p. 43 n. 3; M.H. Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642 (Oxford, 1959), p. 58; Venn, AC., I, iii, 307, sub Parker.

7. Simpson, pp. 32, 33, 39, 41n, 42, 60, 61.

religious matters during the first two or three years of her reign.¹ Bacon was also involved in the debate over whether or not the unwilling Parker would take the archbishopric.² Parker made Bacon the overseer of his archiepiscopal properties and some of the most important of the surviving Parker correspondence comprises letters between the archbishop and the lord keeper.

In 1521, having completed school in Norwich, Parker (aged 17) went to Cambridge. His college, Corpus Christi, was a favourite with Norfolk people and that situation was greatly strengthened by Parker's life-long association with Corpus. Parker obtained his B.A. in 1524, his M.A. in 1528, his B.D. in 1535 and his D.D. in 1538. From 1544 until 1553, and then again briefly after Elizabeth came to the throne, Parker was master of Corpus. He was vice-chancellor of Cambridge in 1545 and again in 1548. His benefactions to Corpus (gifts given in the Elizabethan period) included endowed scholarships and his own books and manuscripts. He bequeathed the latter to Corpus in part because he thought that the cathedrals would soon go the way of the monasteries and therefore it would be safer to leave his library with a college than with Canterbury cathedral. During the reign of Edward, Parker also held several benefices in plurality including an Ely prebend.³

During his first years at Cambridge Parker's studies followed traditional patterns. However, Thomas Bilney, also of Norwich, caused something of a sensation in the university in the mid-1520's by telling everyone of a religious revelation

1. M. Parker, De Antiquitate Ecclesiae Britannicae, passim.

2. Corresp., passim.

3. DNB., sub Parker; Venn, A.C., I, iii, 307, sub Parker; P.R.O./S.P./38/1. The latter reference I owe to Dr. B. Beer of Kent State University; Corresp., p. 481; Perry, pp. 22-23; Brook, pp. 1-3 et passim; H.M.C., Fifth Report, Appendix, p. 485a. Perhaps John Bungey, Parker's chaplain etc., was a descendant or relative of the Mr. Bung, M.A., who helped Parker to get started in Cambridge. Reg., pp. 482, 534, 1111, 1112, 1190; biographical appendix; Brook, passim.

he had had which was, to him, as profoundly important as had been Luther's justification by faith discovery to the German monk. 'At last', said Bilney,

'I heard speak of Jesus, even when the New Testament was first set forth by Erasmus...at the first reading I chanced upon this...most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soul: "It is a true saying and worthy of all men to be embraced, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners...." This one sentence did so exhilarate my heart...that immediately I felt a marvellous comfort and quietness.'¹

It was neither the theology of justification by works nor the theology of justification by faith which stirred Bilney but the conviction that the whole reason for Christ's coming into the world had been, not to judge men or to teach them of justification by faith, but to save them. This conception of Christ was also the heart of Parker's christology and, if the preambles to their wills constitute an adequate guide, was the general idea held by the majority of the clergy who served in Parker's diocese during the time of his administration.

Parker was evidently excited by his friend Bilney's change, but he seems to have been even more interested in Erasmus's Greek and Latin editions of the New Testament (writings which Bilney had pointed out to Parker as the source of his own inspiration) and in some of the ideas found in Erasmus's prefaces to his works. In the long run Erasmus's plea for the scriptures to be translated into every vernacular stimulated Parker to his work on the Bishops' Bible and to having, during his primacy, the New Testament translated into Welsh; but the immediate result was that Parker followed the advice Erasmus had given about theological studies: Parker turned from his several years of studying scholastic philosophers

1. Quoted in Perry, p. 35.

and theologians to seven years of biblical and patristic studies, and Parker thought that his position, as he was to write in 1564, was grounded 'upon the apostolical doctrine and pure time of the primitive church.'¹ Parker's theological position was thus neither scholastic nor Lutheran but was very close to that of the group at Cambridge whom one might call moderate evangelical humanists. This group, generally speaking, believed (as had Erasmus) that man's will was free, that God's mercy was available to all who, by an act of will, would accept it, that the inner life of the spirit rather than outward observances comprised the heart of Christianity, and that a study of the uncorrupted sources of Christian thought (the Bible and the fathers), supplemented by the non-erotic pagan classics, could teach a man to be a follower of the philosophy of Christ and to be a good citizen. Thus, Parker associated at Cambridge with Ascham, Cheke, Petre, and Cecil and studied many of the same authors as they did. It is not surprising, therefore, that his intellectual temperament should have been similar to that of Elizabeth's tutors Ascham and Cheke and to the men who were to be her most trusted advisors.²

During his years at Cambridge Parker had occasion to meet Henry VIII, who was much impressed with Dr. Parker's abilities as a financier, and Parker was also chaplain to Anne Boleyn. In later years Parker was to say that the only

1. Corresp., p. 216.

2. W.K. Ferguson, 'Renaissance Tendencies in the Religious Thought of Erasmus', Journal of the History of Ideas, XV (1954), 499-508 reprinted in Renaissance Studies by W.K. Ferguson (London Ontario, 1963); Erasmi Opuscula, ed. W.K. Ferguson (The Hague, 1933); Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, ed. P.S. and H.M. Allen, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1906-57); D. Erasmus, Enchiridion Militis Christiani, ed. H. Holborn in Erasmus...Ausgewahlte Werke (Munich, 1933); C. Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth (London, 1955), p. 33; and my 'Erasmus and the Tudor Anglican Church: Christian Humanism and the Via Media' (University of Western Ontario M.A. thesis, 1960), pp. 258. See also J.K. McCanna, English Humanists and Reformation Politics (Oxford, 1965).

reason he consented to serve Elizabeth was because of his services to Anne and because Anne had wanted him to do what he could for Elizabeth's welfare. He was very successful and respected as a churchman during Edward's reign. The major caesura in the story is what Parker did during Mary's reign. We know he, as a married clerk, lost his offices. We also know that he went into hiding, and that he injured himself very badly by falling off his horse when fleeing, as he put it, 'from such as sought me to my peril'.¹ He returned to Cambridge² upon Elizabeth's accession from whence he was called to the archbishopric. He was elected to Canterbury in the spring of 1559 and consecrated 17 December, 1559.

(ii) CANTERBURY DIOCESE.

The archbishopric of Canterbury was ~~in the Elizabethan period~~ the most senior ecclesiastical post in England.³ Whitgift in 1572 compared it to the lord chancellorship. He said that the Queen's prerogative in matters secular was exercised through the lord chancellor and in matters ecclesiastical through the archbishop.⁴ Being in such a responsible position as a national figure, only part of Parker's attention could be given to the administration of his diocese. It is, however, with the administration of his diocese only that this thesis is concerned. Even though it is somewhat artificial, he is viewed as a diocesan, not as the primate. His archiepiscopal policies and duties are considered only insofar as they were of importance to his diocesan administration.

1. Corresp., p. 59, pace D.M. Loades, JEH., XVI (1965), 62, note 2.

2. H.M.C., Sixth Report, Appendix, p. 452.

3. I.J. Churchill, Canterbury Administration, 2 vols. (London, 1933); Reg., pp. vii-xxxix; The Register of Henry Chichele...1414-1443, ed. E.F. Jacob, I (Oxford, 1943).

4. J. Whitgift, Works, II, PPS, (Cambridge, 1851-53), 246.

I have, incidentally, found no new evidence of Parker attempting to influence elections in Kent. Parker was on the Kent commission of the peace.¹

The diocese of Canterbury lay entirely within the county of Kent and comprised about two-thirds of that county.² Various surveys of the population, or sections of it, for that period survive,³ but one of the most comprehensive was one returned in 1569 for 274 churches in the diocese. It was said that there were 11,073 families, 43,097 communicants and that, in the previous year, 968 boys and 727 girls had been confirmed. It was also said, incidentally, that there were 42 preachers and 147 married clergy.⁴ The diocese was made up of eleven rural deaneries. There was only one archdeacon who was 'ordinary' for all except about fifty-two parishes which were exempt from his jurisdiction. Finally, there were in the diocese about 288 churches including vicarages, rectories and chapels. This figure was compiled by meticulous comparisons of lists and surveys, but just about every contemporary document gave a different figure and for that reason in some chapters of this thesis it has been found necessary to adopt a slightly lower figure as a basis of calculation. Part of the reason for this was that some parishes were sometimes classified as 'decayed', sometimes not. Whenever percentages of parishes etc. are given in this thesis the figure upon which those percentages is based is also given.

(iii) THE EVIDENCE AND ITS USE.

Besides many excellent works of reference,⁵ the basic printed materials for

1. P.R.O./S.P./12/59, fo. 51; J.E. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons, (London, 1949), pp. 289-90. For a very significant list of Kent J.P.'s and their responsibilities (1575) see B.M. MS./Stowe/570, fos. 18-24.

2. The so-called peculiars have not been included in this study. They did not lie within the boundaries of the diocese proper. C.C.C.C. MS./122, fos. 291-92; B.M. MS./Harl./594, fo. 63.

3. P.R.O./S.P./12/110, fo. 128; B.M. MSS./Harl./594, fos. 63-84; Harl./1759, fos. 416-430; Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey. C.C.C.C. MS./122, fos. 291-317; S.P./12/106 (1574).

4. P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 208v.

5. Churchill, op.cit.; W.P.M. Kennedy, Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, 3 vols (London, 1924); W.H. Frere, Visitation Articles, 3 vols. (London, 1910).

this thesis have been Parker's Correspondence and his Register. The latter is a very rich source of biographical information on the people involved in the administration of the diocese. The principal manuscript collections used were, first of all, the more than forty volumes of ecclesiastical court and visitation records at Canterbury cathedral. At Canterbury cathedral there is also an excellent collection of parish registers, of city of Canterbury archives, and of rare printed books. The Kent county record office in Maidstone has most of the probate records of the diocese; it also has a few visitation records, parish registers, the Dering correspondence, and churchwardens' accounts including the beautifully-kept account for Cranbrook. Lambeth palace has records of the courts of faculties and arches and the records of income from archiepiscopal properties, but it is one of the peculiarities of this study that, while there survives a rich collection of material relative to the local ecclesiastical courts, the records of the central courts---arches, audience, high commission, etc.---have been almost completely destroyed.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, supplied the indispensable clerical survey of 1561 and a few (especially patronage) unprinted letters. Somerset House has important wills and the British Museum a few MS. items including population statistics and the Tudor statutes of Canterbury cathedral which historians have tended to ignore because of the importance of the Laudian statutes. The Public Record Office furnished much information about clerical taxation, about the enforcement of statutes regarding plurality and non-residence, and other incidental material.

The documents were by no means easy to use. This was especially true of the

ecclesiastical court materials because of the severely abbreviated Latin-cum-English, the careless hands in which often they were written, and the fact that scribes often followed no logical pagination, intermingled several cases on a page, etc. Moreover, there is little logic to the call numbers of the Canterbury manuscripts and, because material of various kinds and dates is often found within one MS., it is impossible to describe most of the books as exclusively visitation records etc. Several recent handbooks¹ do give one some idea of how to employ such inherently valuable records, but it was sometimes difficult to know exactly how to quote some of the materials. This was further complicated by the fact that literary and orthographic practices differ: it was necessary to unlearn some 'Americanisms' and some bibliographical principles acquired in order to write a M.A. thesis for a Canadian university. I have sometimes felt a certain empathy for Caxton, who, in 1490, voiced certain sentiments which I well understand about the problems of choosing the right word. Caxton described how some English sailors, becalmed in the Thames, disembarked (in Kent)

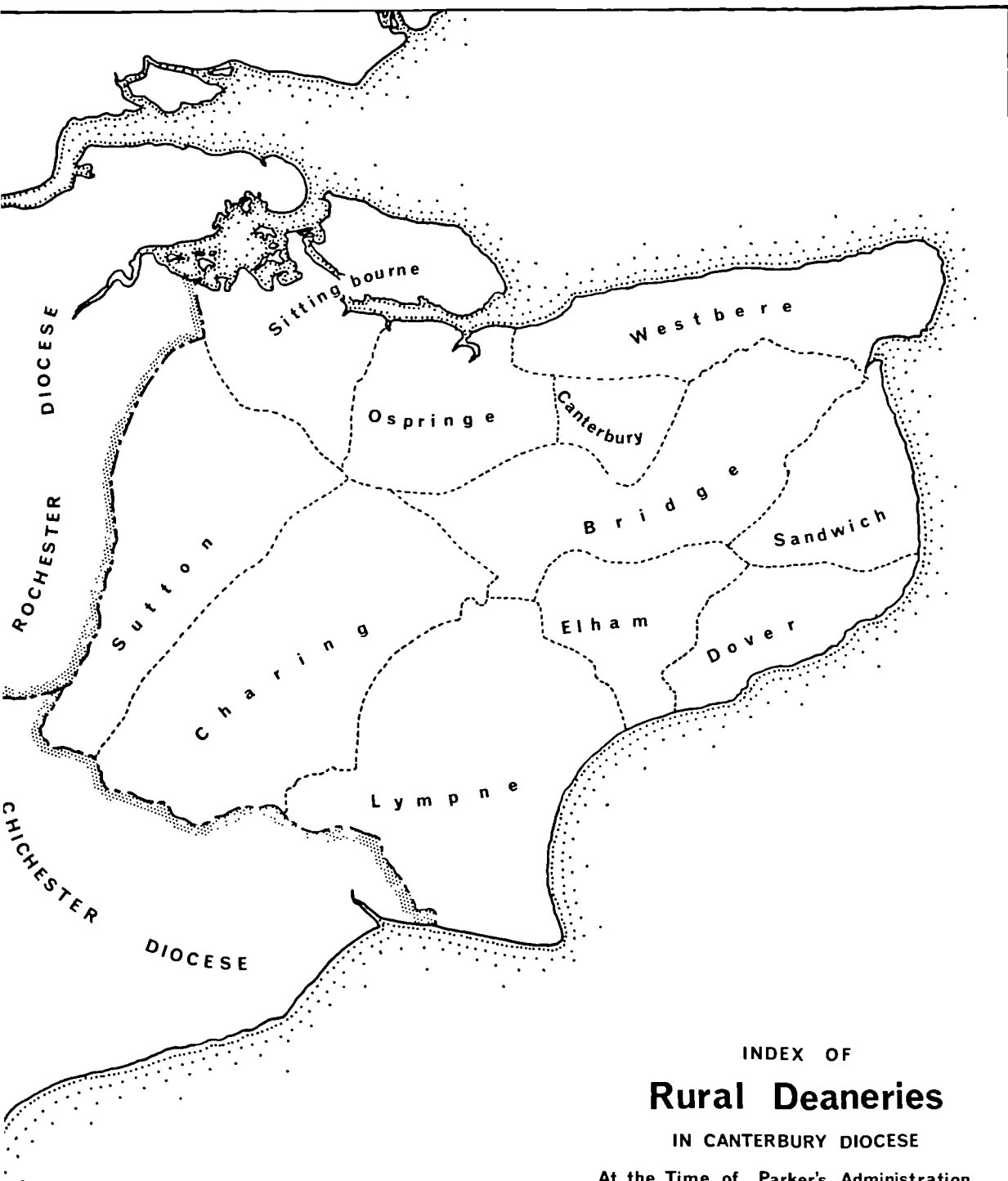
'for to refreshe them. And one of theym, named Sheffelde, a mercer, cam into an hows and axed for mete, and specyally he axyd after eggys; and the good wyf answerde that she coude speke no Frenshe, and the marchaunt was angry for he also coude speke no Frenshe, but wolde have hadde egges, and she understode hym not; and thenne at laste another sayd that he wolde have eyren. Then the good wyf sayd that she understood hym wel. Loo, what sholde a man in thyse dayes now wryte "egges" or "eyren"! Certaynly it is harde to playse every man, bycause of dyversite and chaunge of language.'²

In general, however, 'purple patches', ambiguous phrases or pet words have been avoided, though 'doctrinaire' has been employed in the way in which it is defined

1. E.g., An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Records, ed. J.S. Purvis (London, 1953)
2. Quoted from Eneydos in A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, ed. J.O. Halliwell, 7th edition (London, 1924), p. xxi.

in the OED., and as used by Sir John Neale,¹ to mean 'one who has theoretical ideas...and who disregards facts and practical considerations; adjective visionary'.² In general the orthographic principles outlined in the 'Report on Editing Historical Documents'³ have been followed: all abbreviations (except '&') have been extended. The thorn has been written 'th'. 'wch, wth, etc. have been fully extended to 'which', 'with', etc. The original spellings have been retained. Punctuation and capitalization in all quotations, including those from printed sources such as Corresp., have been modernized. Latin words and phrases, except for extensive quotations, have been underlined. EHR. bibliographical principles and those used by Dr. Owen⁴, have been the ones generally followed. All dates are new style.

1. OED., sub 'doctrinaire' and J.E. Neale, Essays in Elizabethan History (London, 1958), p. 113.
2. The Winston Dictionary, College Edition (Toronto, 1951), p. 288.
3. Bul. I.H.R., I, (1923), 6-25.
4. H.G. Owen, 'The London Parish Clergy in the Reign of Elizabeth I' (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1957).



INDEX OF Rural Deaneries

IN CANTERBURY DIOCESE

At the Time of Parker's Administration,
1559 - 1575.

Boundaries based on:
VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS, I

(London, 1810), Appendix.
Spellings modernized.

CHAPTER I

DIOCESAN ORDER.

The accuracy of Matthew Parker's reputation as an 'orderly'¹ archbishop is born out both by his private letters, his public statements and, at least in aim, by his administration of the diocese of Canterbury. The Second Book of Homilies, compiled while Parker was archbishop and the use of which he vigorously promoted,² explicitly stated that 'obedience is the principal virtue of all virtues, and indeed the very root of all virtues, and the cause of all felicity.'³ To Parker 'variance' was 'the work of the devil.'⁴ He thought that 'diversities and varieties' among the clergy and people produced 'nothing but contention, offence and breach of common charity'.⁵ The Prayer Book phrases about unity and concord and about the necessity of being 'in love and charitie'⁶ with one's neighbours were often used by the judges and scribes of Parker's diocesan courts; his diocesan clergy and officers were obliged to de-bar from the communion table those who had not first settled any differences they had with their neighbours.

1. G. Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation (Cambridge, 1960), p. 74.
2. Corresp., p. 177 and note.
3. E.g., Advertisements, in Documents Illustrative of English Church History, ed. H. Gee and W.J. Hardy (London, 1910), pp. 469, 470.
4. Homilies and Canons (London, 1914), p. 588.
5. Advertisements, p. 468.
6. The Booke of Common Praier (London, 1559), communion service.

The pleasure and satisfaction which Parker derived from order and quietness probably help to explain why he fitted so well into the Elizabethan scene,¹ and they are illustrated by a letter he wrote to Cecil in August, 1563, in which letter he said that he found the common people of his diocese quiet and

'as respecting the common service of the better sort towards the Queen's Highness and her affairs, I find them in so good order that I do rejoice therein. As for my ecclesiastical persons, I deal with them indifferently [i.e. impartially, and] ...I find also obedience in them.'²

Like Cheke, Parker thought that university education ought to increase the loyalty and conformity of students and if it did not its purpose was being frustrated.³ The people were to be encouraged to read the Bible both for spiritual edification and to teach them better to 'know their duties to God, to their sovereign lady the Queen, and [to] their neighbour'.⁴ Parker chose clergymen according to whether or not they would contribute 'to the peoples' quiet, to obedience of laws, etc.',⁵ and one of his principal reasons for encouraging preaching was what preaching did to advance conformity or uniformity in the country. For example, on 21 June, 1568, he wrote to Sir Gilbert Gerrard:

'Surely, Mr. Attorney, if there be no preachers to maintain Christ's religion, to move the subjects' hearts in persuasion of obedience to the prince, and the tenants to their landlords, neither Westminster Hall will long continue nor outward force will rule the matter....'⁶

1. J. Hurstfield, Liberty and Authority Under Elizabeth I (London, 1960); Elizabeth I and the Unity of England (London, 1960); J.E. Neale, 'The Elizabethan Age', Essays... (London, 1958), pp. 28-33; E.M.W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (London, 1943); A.O. Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being (Harvard, 1936).

2. Corresp., p. 186. Cf. ibid., p. 282.

3. Ibid., p. 48.

4. The Royal Injunctions in Visitation Articles and Injunctions, ed. W.H. Frere, III (London, 1910), 10; cf. Reg., p. 624.

5. Corresp., p. 276.

6. Ibid., p. 326.

Much of this thesis is illustrative of Parker's desire for order, but there were certain aspects of his administration which can be described at once and which were features of the administration of diocesan order. Among these were the repair and upkeep of parish property, the supply of the required books to the churches, the supervision of schools and teachers, and the affairs of the cathedral.

(i) CHURCH REPAIR AND UPKEEP.

Parker's diocesan visitors and courts regularly asked about the condition of the fabric of parish churches¹ and about such typically Elizabethan changes as the demolition of the rood loft and the replacement of the chalice by a ~~large~~ ^{larger} communion cup. Parker and his diocesan courts sometimes sequestered the fruits of benefices in which the upkeep of the fabric was being neglected.²

Shifts in population and human subjectivity complicated for Parker the matter of the upkeep of church fabric and complicate for us the making of any exact statements about general improvement (or decay) of fabric in the diocese during Parker's administration. First, there was the subjectivity of statements made by churchwardens to the effect that 'repair' had been done. What constituted 'repair'? Secondly, complaints to church courts or visitors were an administrative device and many complaints represented the results of normal depreciation,³ fire,⁴ etc., rather than of general neglect. Romantic historians, regretting

1. Visitation Articles and Injunctions, ed. Frere, III, 3.

2. Reg., p. 194; Cant. MS./'Register of Licenses', I (1568-78), fo. 27v, et passim

3. E.g., Cant. MSS./X/1/12, fos. 73, 73v, 74v sub Wotton (1574); ibid., fo. 88v sub Easling where it was reported that the wind had blown the tiles off the roof.

4. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 132v sub Hartye (1572); AC., XXIX (1911), 303.

the loss of anything medieval, have sometimes confused the issue by viewing the complaints about decay as representing a permanent state of affairs.¹ It is true that some churches vanished entirely; it is also true that reformers like Thomas Becon thought that England could do with fewer churches: to him the vast multiplication of church buildings was a product of late medieval 'superstition', a 'will-work' which the men who paid for and built had erroneously (in Becon's eyes) believed would help to justify them before God.² But such reformist ideas were not the source of all the trouble: much of the decay of church fabric in Canterbury diocese occurred because of changes in population concentration in the county of Kent. Several churches, such as Warden, Leysdown and Harty in the Isle of Sheppey,³ which had at one time served significant numbers were, by the time of Parker's administration, serving few or none. Some such churches were allowed, before or during Parker's administration, to fall into complete 'decay' or to be 'dissolved'---i.e. secularized. Twelve churches in the diocese had, according to the survey of 1561 been 'dissolved.'⁴ At least six of the smaller parishes Parker arranged to unite with neighboring parishes: a very useful expedient.⁵

With the changes in the distribution of population there were also some of the originally small parishes and chapels which had grown in population far beyond their original size. One of these was the chapel at Hythe. It had

1. Cf. on this Frere, III, 9; W.P.M. Kennedy, Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, I (London, 1924), lxxiii-lxxviii.

2. E.g., T. Becon, Works, II, PPS (Cambridge, 1843), 21.

3. S.P./12/110, fo. 128. See also B.M. MS./Lansd./20, fo. 104; /18, fos. 73-169; /21, fos. 68, 70 (decay of markets).

4. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 20-29v.

5. Reg., p. 819.

originally been a chapel of Saltwood---the parish church of one of the most important archiepiscopal manors.¹ By the time of Parker's administration Saltwood was no longer an archiepiscopal manor and Saltwood parish had been far outstripped in population by its still-annexed chapel of Hythe: in 1565 Saltwood had 30 households and 115 communicants.² Hythe, on the other hand, situated in the thriving Cinque Port which could boast thirty-three ships---four crayers of sixty tons each, three crayers of thirty tons, eight 'shotters' of fifteen tons each and eighteen tramelers of five tons each³---at a time when even Exeter merchants considered a thirty ton ship to be a large investment⁴---and was to be able in 1588 to send eleven vessels against the Armada,⁵ had a population in 1565 of 149 households and 460 communicants.⁶ Yet its parish church was still a chapel annexed to the manorial church of Saltwood---a church with one-quarter the population of Hythe.

Responsibility for the upkeep of the church fabric was usually shared: the churchwardens were responsible for some parts⁷ (though which parts varied from parish to parish), and the 'parson' was usually responsible for the nave (or, as it was often called, 'the church', or the body of the church). Except in parishes which were depopulated or the people exceedingly poor, the churchwardens usually,

1. R.F. Jessup, *Kent*, seventh edition (London, 1930), pp. 254-55.

2. Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fo. 141.

3. B.M. MS./Stowe/570, fos. 216-219v.

4. W.G. Hoskins, 'The Elizabethan Merchants of Exeter', in *Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale*, ed. S.T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C.H. Williams (London, 1961), p. 170.

5. Jessup, p. 180.

6. Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fo. 141. B.M. MS./Stowe/570, fos. 216-219v tabulates 122 houses (not households) and ten people without proper habitation; 160 of the people were employed in sailing the 33 ships (1566).

7. See. S.L. Ware, *The Elizabethan Parish In Its Ecclesiastical and Financial Aspects* (Baltimore, 1908) and Kennedy, *op.cit.*, I, lix-lxxx.

though it might take time,¹ obtained the parish's share of the money needed for repair, etc. Most parishes owned 'stock', i.e. livestock, pastures, buildings, etc.² The revenues from the church stock (providing the rentiers did not neglect to pay³ or keep for themselves the church cows, ewes, etc.,⁴ and providing the churchwardens did not embezzle the income⁵) were used to meet expenses. Bequests⁶ and revenues from diocesan courts⁷ were also important for meeting maintenance expenses. As far as the records reveal, no church-ales were used in Canterbury diocese during Parker's administration.⁸ Often, on the orders of a diocesan court, the churchwardens would make a 'cess' or assessment---i.e. a local levy---in order to finance a parish expense such as rebuilding.⁹

One unique plan was that of the parishioners of Newenden. Their parsonage had been burned down and in consequence no incumbent would take the benefice. The churchwardens and five other parishioners proposed, on 11 June, 1561, that the profits¹⁰ of the parsonage be divided (after deduction of royal taxes and archiepiscopal and archdiaconal dues), and one part be given to hire some 'honest' man of a neighbouring parish to serve the sacraments when necessary, one part to hire

1. An extreme case was that of Christopher Baker of Tenterden who, in 1560, was twenty-eight years behind in his annual payment of eight barrels of wax. (Cant. MS. /X/1/2, fo. 35v.)

2. Ware, pp. 16, 28-29, 63-64.

3. Cant. MS./X/1/2, fo. 24, sub Stowting.

4. Ibid., fo. 18v.

5. E.g., ibid., fos. 4v, sub Harbledown, 7v, sub Hardres.

6. Cant. MS./X/1/3, passim.

7. Ware, p. 19, note 32.

8. Ibid., pp. 71-76.

9. Ibid., pp. 88-89; Cant. MS./Z/1/12, fos. 111v, 125, sub Brabourne; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./43/1, fos. 8v-9.

10. Nominally £7 13s 4d. (VE., I, 96.)

a reader to say and do the service 'accordynge to the godly lawes of this realme', and one part for the rebuilding of the parsonage. They further asked that all sequestrations be called in. Apparently all this (though perhaps only the money from the sequestrations) would yield £3 per annum for the clergyman, £3 per annum for the reader and £5 per annum for rebuilding. The churchwardens asked that the archbishop's diocesan commissary, or someone else whom Parker might appoint, supervise the re-distribution of the revenues.¹ What, exactly, came of this proposal is not certain, but the building may have been reconstructed because in April, 1562, Peter Hall was collated resident rector,² and from then on the parish had a rector.³ Moreover, after 1565 no mention was made of the lack of a parsonage and the courts called on rectors and churchwardens to make routine repairs.⁴

Parker and his officers sometimes had more trouble with parsons (who would not keep up with repairs) than they did with churchwardens. The situation was especially complicated when the benefice was inappropriate---that is, when the revenues, especially those from tithes, went to someone (or some institution) other than the one serving the cure.⁵ An insignificant diocesan court was in a weak position when it came to forcing to fulfill their rectorial obligations such august institutions as Rochester⁶ or Canterbury⁷ cathedrals or Oxford Colleges or such remote personages as the archdeacon.⁸ Parker himself was an 'appropriator'

1. Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 163v.

2. Reg., pp. 404, 788; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 24v; Cant. MS./X/1/4, fos. 88v, 89.

3. Reg., pp. 509, 841, 1103. Laurence Smith, 1568-72, John Tonbridge, 1572 ff.

4. Cant. MSS./X/1/7, fos. 11v-12; /X/1/8, fo. 182v; /X/1/9, fo. 25v; /X/1/11, fo. 61; H.C. Mag., VI, 27; A.C., XXIX (1911), 311.

5. C. Hill, The Economic Problems of the Church From Whitgift to the Long Parliament (Oxford, 1956), pp. 132-167.

6. Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 39 sub Sutton Valence.

7. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./43/2, fo. 52v sub Boughton (1572).

8. Cant. MS./X/1/2, fos. 38v, 39, 41v, 42.

He did, in fact, rebuild or repair the chancels of several impropriated churches in his diocese,¹ though churchwardens very often complained about him as a 'parson.'²

Parker was by no means the only impropriator with whom the diocesan courts and churchwardens had to contend. According to Parker's 1561 survey,³ as is shown in the adjoining table, at least 165 of the churches (including rectories, vicarages and chapels) were impropriate to thirty different impropriators. There were also at least 139 churches which were not impropriate.

Very often impropriators would lease or 'farm' their impropriations. Fortunately some of these leases between impropriators and farmers survive and they give a good idea of what was involved. For example, in 1564 the 'parsonage' of Seasalter was leased by the dean and chapter of Canterbury, to whom it was impropriate, to George Mylls of Canterbury, yeoman.⁴ In 1566 they leased the parsonage of Monckton to one Richard Hartye of Birchington, with a provision that he was not to sub-lease.⁵ The 'farmer' was usually a layman, *and* on 15 June, 1567, the dean and chapter leased Sheldwich parsonage (but not the advowson of it) to Thomas Olyver, yeoman, for 21 years. Olyver agreed to pay as annual rents £4 6s 8d and thirty quarters of 'good, swete and merchauntable' wheat. A very long and detailed indenture described Olyver's other obligations including the upkeep of the buildings.⁶

1. Lambeth MS./C.R./1403; *Corresp.*, p. xiii.

2. Cant. MSS./X/1/2, fo. 17v, sub Westlangdon (1560), fo. 25v, sub Brabourne (1560), fo. 42 sub Tenham (1560); /X/1/3, fo. 44v sub Marden (1561); Maidstone MS./P.R.C./43/1, fos. 11v-12 sub Brabourne (1565); Cant. MS./X/8/9c, fo. 59v, sub Reculver (1571); etc.

3. C.C.C.C. MS./580₃, fos. 20-29v.

4. Cant. MS./Reg. V³, fo. 38.

5. *Ibid.*, fos. 29-29v.

6. Cant. MS./Reg. V² (1567-69), fos. 9, 8, 7 (in that order).

TABLE I: IMPROPRIATORS (c. 1561).¹

All Souls' College, Oxford	2
All Saints' College, Oxford (<i>a scribal error?</i>)	1
Archbishop of Canterbury	65
Archdeacon of Canterbury	3
Canterbury Cathedral	26
The heirs of Sir Thomas Cheyney	13
Chichester Cathedral	1
Christ's College, Oxford	1
'Mr. Cromer'	1
St. John's College, Cambridge	2
Sir William Damsell	3
Eastbridge Hospital	1
Eton College	1
Alexander Grigesby	1
The heirs of Thomas Greene, esq.	1
Sir John Guldeford	1
The heirs of Sir James Hales	1
St. Paul's Cathedral, London	5
Lord Edward North	1
The heirs of Sir Henry Palmer	1
Poor Priests' Hospital	2
John Poraye	1
The Queen	8
Thomas Reder	1
Rochester Cathedral	14
The heirs of Sir Anthony St. Leger	2
Warham St. Leger, esq.	3
Thomas Spilman, esq.	1
St. Laurence Hospital	1
Thomas Wotton, esq.	1
<hr/> 30 impropriators	<hr/> 165 churches

1. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 20-29v; cf. also P.R.O./S.C./11/856; B.M. MS./Harl./1759, fos. 416-430; C.P.R. Eliz., II, 191-98. By 1603 there were 262 parishes of which 140 were impropriate; 201 preachers of whom 180 were graduates; 52,753 communicants and 38 recusants. B.M. MS./Harl./280, fo. 157.

Parker himself leased impropriations and even promised reversions to these leases when they fell in. For example, in 1561 he leased to his servant John Whytney, gent., the reversion, when it fell due, to the lease of the impropriate rectory of Marden (Canterbury diocese). Whytney was to have the lease of the rectory and the advowson for twenty-one years.¹

The leasing of impropriated rectories sometimes complicated the matter of church upkeep. Complaints about the farmers were frequent. For example, Parker farmed Elmsted rectory to his Latin secretary Alexander Neville and in 1565 it was reported that the chancel, parsonage and vicarage house needed over £50 in repairs.² Edward Haselhurst, Parker's farmer of Postling, had also let the church fall into ruin by 1568,³ but Haselhurst did appear to answer the charges. In 1565 the churchwardens of Postling had been trying to get Parker's half of the cost of the Paraphrases.⁴ In 1572 the chancel of Doddington was very much in decay in default of the archdeacon's farmer.⁵ Complaints about the farmers were often⁶ but not always in connection with the church upkeep. For example, the dean and chapter of Canterbury cathedral farmed the rectory of Stone-in-Oxney (which was impropriate to them⁷) and in 1560 the churchwardens told the visitors:

'We were wonte to have of the farmer of oure parsonage in tymes past XXs a yeer to be deuyded amonge the pouertye weer [i.e. where] nede was, and Mr. Shepparde hathe yt in farme now and we cann get nothings of hym. We were wont to have euerye yeer a Christmas dynner and now we haue nothings but a barrell of beer.'⁸

1. Cant. MS./'Reg. Burnt and Fragmentary Elizabeth', no foliation.
2. Cant. MS./X/1/7, fo. 124v; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 23v.
3. Ibid., fo. 23v; Cant. MS./X/8/6, fo. 28v, 48.
4. Cant. MS./X/1/7, fos. 128v-29.
5. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fos. 131, 131v, sub Doddington.
6. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./43/1, fos. 11v-12, 'Mr. Fogge'.
7. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 27v.
8. Cant. MS./X/1/2, fo. 55.

Individual rectors (as distinct from impropriators such as Canterbury cathedral or the archbishop) sometimes farmed their rectories in exactly the same way as did impropriators. John Walsall the preacher, for example, farmed Easling rectory to one James Parker.¹ Parker's chaplain Andrew Peerson, parson of Ivychurch farmed most of his rectory to Richard Knatchbull of Mersham, gent. Three hundred acres, however, he farmed to Robert Gyrlunge of Lambeth, yeoman on 3 September, 1570, for 21 years at £20 a year. Peerson farmed to Gyrlunge^{out} of the 300 acres

'All tythes of corn, grayn, haye, hempe, flax, honey, waxe, frute, wull, lambes, calves, fooles [fowl], pygges, geese & pasturage & all other kynde[s] of tythes prediall, personall or myxte with all & singuler comodyties, frutes, emoluments, uses customes, casualties & profyttes whatsoever which shall arrysse, come, grow, fall or belong to the said Andrew Peerson'.²

Another such lease involved Parker's Latin secretary, John 'Jossolyn', parson of Hollingbourne-cum-Hucking in Canterbury diocese, and one Edward Waterhouse, gent. John Joscelyn, M.A., was collated to the rectory with the attached chapels on 27 May, 1569.³ Hollingbourne rectory, with the attached chapels of Hucking and Bredhurst, were not impropriate which meant that, ideally, a resident rector could get all of the revenues without any being diverted to an Oxford College, or to Canterbury cathedral, or etc.⁴ Joscelyn, however, was Parker's servant and one of his chaplains and in no position to take up residence. Besides that, Joscelyn's predecessor, non-resident Arthur St. Leger, cl.⁵ had, in 1560, leased the rectory to Waterhouse. Six days after Joscelyn had been collated to the rectory, he (Joscelyn) confirmed St. Leger's lease. In his confirmation of the lease

1. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 134v (1572).
2. Cant. MS./Reg. V⁴, fos. 7v-8v.
3. Reg., pp. 569, 847.
4. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 26.
5. Ibid., fo. 26.

Joscelyn wrote that St. Leger had 'deuysed, graunted and ferme[d]' to Waterhouse

'all those hys churches and parsonages of Hollingborne and Huckynge...wythe the mancion place of the parsonage of Hollingborne aforesayde with all barnes, stables and all other edifyces and howses to the sayde parsonages or anye of tham belongynge and all glebe lands, tythes, frutes, proffyttes, oblacons, obuencions, commoditytes, emolumentes, aduantages & appertenaunces to the sayde church, - - - parsonages or eyther of them belongynge, or in enye wyse apperteyninge. EX[CEPT] - - - and reserved to the sayde Sir Arthure [and] his successors and assignes one parloure - - - chambers and one stable to be chosen at ys pleasure and to be at hys coman[dment] - - - for hym, hys successors & assignes with free ingresse and regresse from tyme to t[yme] - - - into the same.'

Waterhouse was 'to have and to hold' the property for twenty-one years at an annual rent of £30 to be paid in half-yearly installments.¹

By confirming St. Leger's lease Joscelyn was clearly hiring someone to collect for him the revenues of his sinecure, but in this particular instance leasing does not seem to have meant that the upkeep of the fabric of the church was neglected. Rectorial responsibilities were not ignored. It may well have been that the church courts often found farmers, who were usually lay residents of the parish more disciplinable than impropiators who did not reside or which were awesome institutions such as Canterbury cathedral. What this particular instance does illustrate, however, is the deplorable way in which impropriation divided up the revenues. Thus, the rectorial revenues were over £30 of which Joscelyn got £30, none of which helped the parish. The cure was served by a vicar whose annual income (nominally) was £7 6s 8d² out of which the vicar not only had to maintain

1. Cant. MS./Reg. V² (1567-69), fo. 76. The nominal (i.e. taxable) value of the rectory was £28 9s 9d per year, but clearly it was worth more since Joscelyn got £30 from the farmer who would hardly work for nothing. VE., I, 95. Dashes indicate MS. damage.

2. VE., I, 95. The vicars during Parker's administration were William Bucke, 1557-1567, John Banke, 1567-1573, and, from 1573 onwards, William White. There was also in 1560, a curate, William Atwood. Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fo. 74; Reg., pp. 482, 820; Cant. MS./X/8/9c, fo. 31v; Reg., pp. 1075, 1109; Cant. MS./Y/2/20, fo. 45.

himself but was also responsible for the upkeep of some parts of the church among which, it seems, were the chancel and churchyard. The chancel and churchyard were reported as decaying in 1568, at which time it was also reported against the vicar that the chancel

'ys undecently kepte; the table of the comandementes there also defaced with fylthe; the communion table ys made of that fayned thinge that was the sepultur [sic] and ys undecently kept without any lynnen coveringe or any kynde of carpet.'

The vicar was ordered to make the necessary repairs.¹ Thus, the total revenues, which must have been well over forty pounds per annum, were split among the farmer, the rector, and the vicar; and the person who actually served the cure, the vicar, got probably the least of all---less than one-quarter of the profits of the parish. Nor was it a small parish: there were 60 households and 243 communicants at Hollingbourne², 12 households and 37 communicants at Hucking.³ The unattractiveness of a cure of such large responsibility and minimal remuneration would be such as to prevent a well-qualified man from seeking the vicarage. Financial arrangements such as these created the 'three-half-penny benefices whereof seven or eight being put together [would] scarcely furnish the pastor with...expenses for him, his family, and the poor'.⁴ None of the vicars at this parish during Parker's administration were particularly well qualified and apparently the parishioners did not find the vicars very interesting men: there were complaints about the lack of diligence in church attendance.⁵ Moreover, since the financial situation in many Canterbury diocese parishes was similar to that at Hollingbourne it is easier to

1. Cant. MSS./X/8/6, fo. 2v; /Z/4/12, fo. 115. (The reference was to the Easter sepulchre.)
2. Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fo. 132v.
3. *Ibid.*, fos. 133, 146v.
4. Becon, *op.cit.*, II, 21.
5. Cant. MS./X/8/6, fo. 2v.

understand why prebendary Thomas Becon found, as he wrote from Canterbury to Parker and the other bishops in 1565, that among the clergy there were 'undiscreet and unlearned men..., blind guides, unlearned asses and ravening wolves.'¹

A similar lease to this one of Hollingbourne and Hucking, that is, the lease of an unimproprate rectory, was one of 27 March, 1559, between Thomas Hendon, cl., 'parson of the parishe church and parsonage of Staplehurst' in Canterbury diocese and one William Penifather. Hendon, the Marian rector, demised to Penifather all houses, edifices, barns, stalls, gate houses, waters, gardens, the church yard and all other yards, courts and closures as well as all profits, tithes, fruits, oblations, obventions, offerings, commodities, easements, emoluments, advantages and appertainances belonging to the parsonage. Parson Hendon kept the mansion house and the adjoining orchard and garden. He also kept 'crismes' paid to curates for christenings, marriages, and burials. Hendon and his successors or their deputies were to serve the cure in all sacraments, etc. Hendon was to pay the royal taxes and episcopal dues. Penifather was to pay £30 a year rent and the lease was for sixty years.

This lease seems to have been somewhat unusual because the parson, Hendon, was responsible for the repair and upkeep of the church and its properties (except for any damage done by Penifather, his livestock or his servants). Probably Hendon's purpose was to tie the property up in his name if at all possible: Richard Beseley had been deprived of the benefice during Mary's reign and such deprivees were, in 1559, reclaiming benefices. Beseley, in fact, reclaimed this benefice and Hendon's lease was successfully contested in the court of arches by Beseley.²

1. Becon, II, 4.

2. Lambeth MS./Arches Muniment Book/F/1a (or E/4/16/6/3), fos. 100v-105 and 182-183.

The last two leases cited, that of Hollingbourne and that of Staplehurst, serve to illustrate what arrangements could be made. They also illustrate that, given the existing situation, leasing of the rectories was not always disadvantageous to the parish. Thus, at Hollingbourne, where the rectory was farmed, the buildings did not fall into decay. On the other hand Staplehurst rectory, which Beseley did not choose to re-lease after he had reclaimed it from Hendon and Penifather (he was again rector by December 1559),¹ went from bad to worse. The parson was obliged by law to provide 'hospytalytye': non-resident Beseley, it was reported in 1562, did not.² The rector or impropiator was responsible for the nave or body of the church: in 1565 the churchwardens of Staplehurst reported that Beseley's church and steeple would cost at least twenty nobles to repair and the parsonage house and chancel another twenty pounds.³ In 1569 and 1570 Beseley was reported as remiss in the repair of the nave windows and a few other things.⁴ In 1563 it was reported, as it had been several times earlier, that 'the chauncell wanteth pavinge in defaulte of Mr. Beseley theire parson.'⁵ He was also reluctant to remove the stained glass windows. This was still the situation in 1574. In that year it was also reported that some of the windows were broken and the pavement was in decay, both of which matters had often been presented 'without reformation'. Beseley had pulled down a 'greate barne'. Some of the buildings for which he was responsible were not properly underpinned. Beseley, as usual, had not given 2½ per cent of his income (the fortieth part) to the poor of the parish. No court action on any of these complaints was recorded.⁶

1. Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 153.
2. Cant. MS./X/1/4, fo. 100v.
3. Cant. MS./X/1/7, fo. 38v.
4. H.C. Mag., VI, 110-111; Cant. MS./X/1/10, fo. 46v.
5. A.C., XXIX (1911), 307.
6. Cant. MS./X/1/12, fo. 114.

It should be noted here that Beseley's Staplehurst was not a 'decayed' parish: there were 120 households and 440 communicants in the parish in 1569.¹ Nor was Beseley indifferent to religion: he had been a Marian exile, preached frequently, and was sometimes a judge in the diocesan courts.² He should not be judged solely on his performance as parson of Staplehurst.

(ii) BOOKS.

The books required in every parish church were, first, 'the whole Bible of the largest volume in English',³ 'the Paraphrases of Erasmus, also in English, upon the Gospels'⁴ (Parker in 1560 required the complete Paraphrases for use in Canterbury province),⁵ the Book of Common Prayer, the Homilies (both those of 1547 and 1563)⁶. In addition, during Parker's administration, every church in Canterbury diocese was expected to have a copy of the Royal Injunctions of 1559, a 'Table' of the Ten Commandments, and, after Parker had compiled it, a copy of his 'Order of Degrees Prohibited in Marriage.'⁷ There was also a 'lyttle booke of prayers set forth by My Lorde's Grace',⁸ 'the byshop of Canterbury',⁹ which Parker wanted in the parish churches of his diocese. He tried, it seems, to have the thirty-nine articles in his churches but before the articles were given statutory backing in

1. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 21v.

2. See biographical appendix.

3. Frere, op.cit., III, 10.

4. Ibid., III, 10. The 1548 edition, which was also published in 1551, was divided into two volumes, volume one having the paraphrases of the gospels and Acts. It was probably this first volume which was required by the royal injunctions of 1559. (1551 copy in St. John's College Library, Winnipeg; cf. my 'Erasmus and the Tudor Anglican Church: Christian Humanism and the Via Media' (University of Western Ontario M.A. thesis, 1960).)

5. Frere, III, 81.

6. Ibid., III, 81, 157v; Corresp., p. 177.

7. M. Parker, An admonition to all suche as shall intende to enter the state of matrimony (London, 1574) (STC., 19,286).

8. Cant. MS./X/1/8, fos. 18v-19, sub St. Peter's in Thanet (1562).

9. Ibid., fo. 55v.

1571 there was some resistance in Canterbury diocese. At least the curate of Birchington, John Cryar, cl., defended himself in 1569 in a charge of failure to read in public the articles by saying that

'he never had them to rede lyke as the moste parte of all the clergie within the diocese of Canterburye hath not redde for that they were not comandyd to redde the same.'¹

Incidentals such as a special form of prayer at the time of the plague in 1564² were also required. The grammar authorized by Henry VIII and Edward VI was also sometimes required.³ Significantly enough, some books were not asked for: neither Foxe's Acts and Monuments, Bullinger's Decades, nor Calvin's Institutes were required for the parish churches of Canterbury diocese during Parker's administration. A strict censorship of undesirable books, including those which might 'stir or provoke sedition or maintain superstitious [church] service [s]' in the realm,⁴ was also maintained.

The cost of purchase of the Bibles and Paraphrases was to be divided equally between the rector (or impropriator)⁵ and the parishioners.⁶ The division of the cost of the Bible and the Paraphrases, in addition to their large size and thus relative costliness, probably accounts for the fact that they were the books most often reported lacking. Often churchwardens reported that their church had no Bible or Paraphrases because, though they had the parish's share in hand, they

1. Cant. MS./X/8/6, fo. 36.

2. Corresp., pp. 182-185, 208.

3. Frere, III, 21.

4. Frere, III, 7, 24; Corresp. p. 410; cf. A Transcript of the Stationers' Registers, 1540-1640, ed. E. Arber (London, 1875), xvi-xvii.

5. E.g., Cant. MSS./X/1/4, fo. 11v sub Thannington; /X/1/7, fo. 67v (1565: 'omnia bene'.) Thannington was impropriate (Cant. MS./Z/3/7, fo. 119; pace C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 20.)

6. Frere, III, 10.

lacked the parson's (or farmer's)¹ half of the money needed.²

Many factors came into play similar to those involved in the maintenance of the church fabric: the books wore out,³ were mutilated⁴ or stolen,⁵ or, instead of buying the right edition the churchwardens might try to economise with a small edition of the English Bible.⁶ Then too, because a parish church possessed the necessary books one year did not mean that it would still have them later,⁷ i.e. the fact that a parish lacked books at a given date did not mean that it had never had the books. An examination of the situation within most parishes over a period of years usually reveals that the church courts and ecclesiastical visitors of Parker's Canterbury succeeded, in the long run, in forcing the purchase of the required books.⁸

(ii) SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS.

The King's School at Canterbury, and a grammar school at Tenterden, were in existence at the time Parker became archbishop.⁹ During the time of his administration at least five other schools were established in his diocese (besides those established by the refugee congregations).¹⁰ At least one, that of Wye, was

1. Cant. MS./X/8/2, fo. 55v, sub Challock: lacked Paraphrases and Homilies at the default of Parker's farmers, 'Boddenden' and Alexander Hawkherst.

2. Cant. MSS./X/1/7, fos. 143v-144 sub Stallisfield: default of the parson; /X/1/3, fo. 101v sub Waltham lack the parson's share of the money for the Paraphrases.

3. A.C., XXIX (1911), 280 sub 'Studmershe'.

4. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 102.

5. Cant. MS./X/1/4, fos. 39v, 40, sub Norborne.

6. Ibid., fo. 102.

7. E.g., Cant. MSS./Z/3/7, fo. 140v sub Newington (1562); /X/1/7, fos. 145v-146 sub Newington (1565).

8. E.g., Cant. MSS./X/1/4, fos. 101v, 102 sub Ulcombe (1561); /X/1/7, fo. 28v, sub Ulcombe (1565: 'Omnia bene'); H.C. Mag., V, 117, sub Ickham (1569); A.C., XXIX (1911), 283 sub Ickham (1573); H.C. Mag., V, 118 sub Staple (1569); A.C., XXIX (1911), 284 sub Staple (1573). One churchwarden was ordered to buy a psalter and show it to the ecclesiastical court judge before he left Canterbury city for his rural parish. (Cant. MS./X/1/7, fos. 105v-107 sub Brooke (1565).)

9. W.K. Jordan, Social Institutions In Kent 1480-1660, A.C., LXXV (1961), 71.

10. See below p. 317.

founded by Elizabeth when the college there was re-dissolved.¹ Some were established, or at least greatly assisted, by a generous individual benefactor. The most famous such institution was Sir Roger Manwood's grammar school at Sandwich, though Manwood had financial help from 225 people.² The grammar school at Maidstone, apparently re-founded around 1561, was helped by a bequest from William Lambe in 1574.³ In 1566 John Mayne left £100 for the foundation of a schoolhouse at Biddenden.⁴

The schoolhouse at Cranbrook, the wealthy town in which was located the 'Cathedral of the Weald', was constructed at the cost of the parish. Work on it was under weigh in March 1559. In 1560 £100 19s 15d was collected in the parish to continue work on the building, and in 1561 £9 19s 9d more was collected. A total of £91 19s 9d was spent on the schoolhouse in the first two years.⁵ In 1564 Simon Lynch left lands and houses further to endow the school---probably to take care of operating expenses.⁶ A second school, for different purposes, was also created in Cranbrook. In 1574 Alexander Dence left money for a school for 'the teaching of the poor children of Cranbrook town and parish "in reading, writing and common arithemetic".'⁷ In addition instruction was being given, during the time of Parker's administration, at Milton,⁸ Fordwich,⁹ Challock,¹⁰ Hythe,¹¹

1. Corresp., p. 170.
2. Jordan, p. 78.
3. Ibid., pp. 77, 78; Corresp., p. 170.
4. Jordan, p. 80.
5. Maidstone MS./P. 100/5/1, fos. 8, 14v, 19v, (Cranbrook churchwardens' accounts).
6. Jordan, p. 80.
7. Ibid., p. 81.
8. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 36v.
9. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./43/2, fo. 51v.
10. Cant. MS./Y/3/17, fo. 40.
11. H.C. Mag., V, 208, 209.

Padlesworth,¹ and Sittingbourne.² Probably in many of the other parishes some rudimentary forms of instruction were offered.

Parker was very much in sympathy with the educational efforts of people in his diocese. His influence with the Queen was vital to the establishment of Manwood's school at Sandwich. His interest was such that he rode to Sandwich on a rainy day in order to satisfy himself that the school ought to be built.³ In 1569 Corpus agreed 'to prefer the scholars of Canterbury to their foundation'⁴, and, like some diocesan laymen,⁵ in his will Parker endowed scholarships; they were scholarships for King's School boys to go to Cambridge University.⁶

Schoolmasters, especially after 1571, were supposed to be licensed by the bishop (or his deputies). Some such licences by Parker survive. In 1561 Parker licensed John Pawlin to teach boys grammar in the diocese of Canterbury,⁷ and in 1571 Parker issued a like licence to Elias Meade, M.A.⁸ But otherwise licences to teach only within the diocese were issued by Parker's officers. In 1569 Parker's vicar general Dr. Thomas Yale gave Andree Elephant, B.A., a licence to teach grammar at Sittingbourne or elsewhere in the diocese of Canterbury.⁹ In January, 1575, Parker's diocesan commissary general licensed Henry Rolf to teach boys in Lyving parish, Canterbury diocese.¹⁰ The only other teacher's licences

1. Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fo. 5.

2. Cant. MS./X/1/2, fo. 27.

3. Jordan, p. 78; Corresp., pp. 187-89, 192.

4. H.M.C., Fifth Report, Appendix, p. 433.

5. Jordan, pp. 91-93.

6. P.C.C./1575/39 Rych; H.M.C., Ninth Report, Appendix, I, 124a.

7. Reg., p. 384.

8. Cant. MS./X/8/9c, fo. 38. B.A. (Cantab.) 1567, M.A. 1572, student at St. John's and fellow in 1568. Rector of Westbere, Canterbury diocese, 1596, of Norgate, Canterbury, 1609-12, headmaster of Faversham School. Died in 1612. (Venn, AC., I, ii, 169).

9. Reg., pp. 510-511.

10. Cant. MS./'Register of Licences, I (1568-78)', fo. 29. 'Matric. pens. from Queen's (Cantab.), Michs. 1566? (Venn, AC., I, iii, 482).

of which record has been found were granted by Parker for the entire province of Canterbury: he issued such licences to Richard Muckleston, B.A., John Petie, B.A., John Moodye, B.A. (from St. John's, Cambridge, 1569), and Godfrey Swayne, B.A.¹ They may have taught in Canterbury diocese, though notice of them has not been found. There were, however, other teachers in the diocese for whom a record of having been licensed by Parker has not been found. They included John Twyne, B.C.L., Anthony Rush, D.D., William Clyfton, Raafe Moore and Rowland Stoberfield.

Schoolteachers held their licence during Parker's good pleasure and on condition that they follow^{ed} the statutes and other laws of the realm; which statutes and laws outlined what books were to be used and what subjects taught. Thus, there was trouble when, in 1569, the churchwardens of St. Mary Sandwich, reported that their 'schoolmaster teacheth grammar by another work than is set forth by public authority.'² Schoolteachers did not normally appear at visitations unless there were complaints. If there were complaints then the ecclesiastical visitors and courts exercised their authority. The commissary general tried to stop Elias Meade from teaching, though this attempt failed because Parker over-ruled his own commissary.³ In 1569 the churchwardens of Wye reported that 'Mr. William Clyfton, schoolmaster', did not take communion or come to sermons, was 'not of synsere religion', 'stubbornly refuse[d] to conform himself to unity and good religion', and, they said, 'we cannot tell what grammar he teacheth'.⁴ The court eventually excommunicated Clyfton.⁵ Andree Elephant, B.A., schoolmaster at Sittingbourne,

1. Reg., pp. 476, 603-04, 1049, 1091. Venn, AC., I, iii, 203. Muckelstone was probably of Norfolk. Ibid., I, iii, 225.

2. H.C. Mag., V, 210.

3. Cant. MS./X/8/9c, fo. 38.

4. H.C. Mag., V, 208, 209.

5. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/5, fo. 71v.

was presented at the archdeacon's visitation of 1574 for creating a disturbance by reading a book in church during the time of common prayer.¹ And there are other cases of disciplinary action by Parker and his officers but the most famous example was that of John Twyne, B.C.L. (Oxon.), headmaster of King's School Canterbury.

Twyne, a notable antiquary and more than once mayor of Canterbury (including during Wyatt's rebellion which he opposed), was during Parker's administration accused among other things, of necromancy. Then,

'In 1560, during an ecclesiastical visitation of Canterbury, "Mr. Twyne, schoolmaster, was ordered to abstain from ryot and drunkenness and not to intermeddle with any public office in the town"...; and in 1562 he was again in trouble with the privy council...The cause may have been his "addiction to ^{the}Popish religion," and Tanner says that he maligned Henry VIII, Matthew Parker, and John Foxe "non minus acerbe quam injuste."'²

Twyne's friends, especially the Alday family, do seem to have been of a recusant persuasion³ and at least one Roman Catholic priest under examination said he had been taught by Twyne. However, Twyne's will (in which he described himself as 'gentleman') is the only one I have discovered (aside from nuncupative wills) which had absolutely no declaration of faith. Twyne mentioned neither God nor Christ nor what he willed to become of his soul or body.⁴

Parker ultimately rusticated Twyne,⁵ and the pathetic letter which Twyne wrote

1. Cant. MS./X/1/2, fo. 27; Reg., p. 510.

2. A.F. Pollard in DNB., Pollard also has articles on Twyne's two sons, Brian (antiquary) and Laurence (translator) who were associated as youths with Parker's diocese; D.L. Edwards, A History of King's School, Canterbury (London, 1957), pp. 43, 68-74, 92, 168, 199.

3. DNB.; Cant. MS./'Burgmote Book 1542-1578' (C), fos. 150v-152, 222; E. Hasted, Canterbury, II (Canterbury, 1799), 605-610; regarding John Alday, below p. 158.

4. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/34, fos. 306-307v.

5. On 13 Nov., 1568, a marriage licence was issued to John Twyne, presumably the son, of Preston-near-Wingham and Margaret Carpinter, virgin, of St. Peter's, Canterbury, to be married with the banns asked only at the time of the ceremony. (Cant. MS./Register of Licenses, I (1568-78), fo. 4v.)

to Burghley in 1576 gives some idea of the way in which Parker dealt with diocesan schoolmasters whose behaviour became too erratic. Twyne said that despite his (Twyne's) age (he was born in 1501) and service in teaching, Parker had taken all of his offices from him. In his best Latin Twyne begged Burghley, whom he compared with Joseph of the Hebrews, Solon of Athens, Epaminondas of Thebes and Cato of Rome, to use his influence with Grindal to have him restored to his former position; and he concluded:

"Haec sunt quae maiorem in modum peto ⁶[~~ab~~] honoratissima dominatione tua, iam senior, non procul a funere, post longas exumnas et exhaustos docendo labores."¹

Twyne's will, made two years later, was dated from Preston-near-Wingham even though his quite extensive houses and lands were in Canterbury city and Chartham. Presumably Twyne had not been allowed by Grindal to return to the city.²

(iv) CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

Parker gave considerable personal attention to the maintenance of religious conformity and uniformity in Canterbury cathedral both because of the cathedral's local influence and also because Parker felt that Canterbury cathedral ought to be something of a show-piece for foreign visitors---a visible proof to foreigners that Englishmen had not become completely disorderly in their religious practices.³ Technically speaking, Canterbury cathedral was a 'metropolitan', rather than a diocesan, cathedral, but it stood in the same relation to the diocese of Canterbury as most cathedrals in other dioceses and its influence upon the diocese was so great that some discussion of its position is needed. The biographies of the

1. B.M. MS./Lansdowne/21, fo. 111v.

2. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/44, fos. 306-307v. See also P.R.O./S.P./12/45, fos. 5v-6 (1577).

3. Corresp., pp. 214-17, 319; cf. J. Jewel, Apology in Works, III, PPS, (London, 1862), 53-54; C.C.C.C. MS./122, fos. 323-325 (Certificate of uniformity).

cathedral prebendaries and six-preachers give some idea of the influence within the diocese of the personnel of the cathedral,¹ and there were other aspects to its influence.

Parker himself did not normally live at Canterbury but, although in many of its internal affairs the cathedral was virtually independent of the archbishop,² Parker was the visitor of the cathedral.³ The acts of his visitations were recorded⁴ and have been fully described in most of the standard biographies of Parker.⁵ Parker also settled disputes among the cathedral personnel: in 1573 the dean and chapter voted him £30 in consideration of his extra expenses in settling cathedral disputes.⁶ He also encouraged the dean and chapter to re-draft certain parts of the statutes of the cathedral. There was also, attached to the cathedral, the King's School of which Parker was visitor and appointments to the mastership of which he had to approve.⁷ He encouraged boys from that school to enter Corpus Christi College.

Some of the abuses which critics said existed in cathedrals did not exist at Canterbury. For one thing, Parker did not want a layman to serve as dean, as one of the prebendaries, or as a minor canon. It was somewhat difficult for him to control that, because he held the advowson of only three of the twelve prebends

1. Appendix.

2. Cant. MSS./Reg. V¹ (1553-58), fos. 69-69v, appointment of John Hill as cathedral receiver; /Reg. V³, fo. 17, appointment 25 November, 1572, of Hill as cathedral treasurer; /*ibid.*, fos. 16v-17, appointment on the same day of prebendary William Kinge as receiver; /Reg. V² (1567-69), fos. 4, 3 [sic], appointment of William Sutter as cathedral bell-ringer at over £6 per year.

3. Churchill, I, 139-141, *passim*.

4. Reg., pp. 531-51, 620-40, 670, 671, 905-36.

5. Strype; Brook, p. 250; etc.

6. Cant. MS./'Acta Capituli, 1568-81', fo. 65v.

7. Cf. Cant. MS./'Acta Capituli, 1561-68', fo. 9v regarding Robert Absolon; Corresp., pp. 144-5 regarding Anthony Rush.

and the minor canons were appointed by the dean and chapter,¹ but Nicholas Wotton, who had been appointed dean before Parker became archbishop, was a layman whereas dean Godwyn, who was appointed (by the Queen) during Parker's administration, was a clergyman. With one or two possible exceptions, all of the prebendaries and minor canons of Canterbury cathedral during Parker's administration were clergymen. He did not have the appointment of all of these men, but by giving, or withholding, approval of their appointments and by his work as visitor Parker saw to it that laymen were not appointed. Secondly, though almost all of the cathedral clerical personnel were pluralists and though Parker granted Andrew Pearson extra leave to study sacred theology and to serve in the archbishop's household,² Parker was impatient of prebendaries who wanted to be completely non-resident.³ Even such locally unpopular men as dean Godwyn,⁴ prebendary William Kinge and prebendary George Boleyn (who preferred Berwick)⁵ spent at least some time in the diocese. Ordination and residence were important to the diocese because the minor canons of the cathedral were often incumbents of parishes in the city of Canterbury and environs (a situation permitted and encouraged by the statutes of the cathedral)⁶, the cathedral six-preachers (who were appointed by Parker) provided the diocese with many of its sermons, and many people from the city and diocese went to the cathedral

1. J. Le Neve, *Fasti*, I (Oxford, 1844), 46; B.M. MS./Harl./1197, fos. 318-340v.
2. Cant. MS./Reg. V⁴, fo. 7.
3. *Corresp.*, p. 319; cf. Cant. MS./Reg. V² (1567-69), fos. 7, 6 Parker to Godwyn regarding residence.
4. P.M. Hembry, 'The Death of Thomas Godwin, Bishop of Bath and Wells', *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, XCVI (1951), 78-107; J.M. Cowper, *The Lives of the Deans of Canterbury (1541 to 1900)* (Canterbury, 1900).
5. Cant. MS./Reg. V² (1567-69), fo. 92; *Reg.*, pp. 462, 534, 528, 827, 908, 1138, 1152.
6. B.M. MS./Harl./1197, fo. 329v.

to hear the dean, the prebendaries or one of the six preachers preach.¹

As far as matters of property were concerned, however, Parker was not so scrupulous. Twenty-one-year leases, licences to inherit a lease even though there had been a non-alienation clause in the original,² reservation to themselves of pensions from benefices to which they had the advowson,³ etc. were granted by the dean and chapter. And the dean and chapter, by whom all archiepiscopal temporal grants had to be approved,⁴ allowed Parker himself to grant long leases, reversions to leases, etc.⁵

1. The mayor and town council, however, attended morning prayer every day (except holidays) at six in the parish 'church of Our Lady in the High Street'. The head of every Canterbury household liable for the subsidy attended the same service and also one in the evening. (Cant. MS./'Burgmote Book, 1542-78' (C), fos. 146, 158v.)

2. Cant. MS./Reg. V³, fo. 38 regarding George Mylls, yeoman; ibid., fos. 29-29v regarding Hartye of Birchington.

3. Cant. MS./Reg. V² (1567-69), fo. 1v and Reg., p. 834 regarding Theodore Newton, M.A.

4. E.g., Cant. MSS./'Acta Capituli, 1561-68', fos. 5v (Edward Waterhouse), 11, 11v, et passim; /Reg. V², fo. 71 regarding John Kinge.

5. Cant. MSS./Reg. V¹ (1553-58);/Reg. V² (1567-69);/Reg. V³;/'Acta Capituli, 1561-68'; etc.

CHAPTER II

DIOCESAN ADMINISTRATORS.¹

Parker was himself sometimes in his diocese, but for the most part he administered the diocese through other people. Under him there were (besides some lesser figures such as proctors and registrars of the diocesan courts) his commissary general, the archdeacon and his 'official', the bishop suffragan of Dover, high commissioners, and Parker's own commissioned diocesan or metropolitical visitors. From 1559 to 1575 twenty-four men, not including proctors and registrars, served in various of these capacities.

1. One of the recent books which has a useful bibliography and much material on diocesan administration is R.M. Haines, The Administration of the Diocese of Worcester in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century (London, 1965). Other works of vital importance for an understanding of episcopal administration and which have been used in this thesis, are I. J. Churchill, Canterbury Administration, 2 vols. (London, 1933); B.L. Woodcock, Medieval Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of Canterbury (Oxford, 1952); Visitation Articles and Injunctions..., ed. W.H. Frere, I (London, 1910); W.P.M. Kennedy, Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, I (London, 1924); Select XVI Century Cases in Tithe from York Diocesan Registry, ed. J. S. Purvis (York, 1947); E.W. Watson, 'The Development of Ecclesiastical Organization and Its Financial Base', Cambridge Medieval History, VI (1929), 528-558; C.I.A. Ritchie, The Ecclesiastical Courts of York (Arbroath, 1956); Harpesfield's Visitation, ed. W. Sharp and L. E. Whatmore, C.R.S., XLV (1950), XLVI (1951); and other references given in footnotes in the following pages.

In this chapter the nature of these diocesan administrative offices is discussed, and biographical material about the men who held the offices is presented. It should not be forgotten that one of the duties of these diocesan officers was the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, and that the system of discipline was basically medieval. Individual parishioners, churchwardens, sidesmen, the consistory, archdiaconal and audience courts, the justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, and ultimately Parker, the central law courts and the Queen herself were involved in the maintenance of discipline.¹

(i) THE COMMISSARY GENERAL.

The office of commissary general for the city and diocese of Canterbury, which may have evolved out of the practice of appointing commissaries for specific tasks, was well-established by the late thirteenth century.² The Canterbury office of commissary general had in the middle ages absorbed the work of, but had not, as in Lincoln, grown out of, the office of sequestrator general. Though the origins of the office ~~were~~ different, by the mid-fifteenth century the office of commissary general of Canterbury was quite similar to that of the same office in Lincoln, and in both Lincoln³ and Canterbury⁴ the powers of the commissary general were considerably enhanced with the coming of the reformation.

1. Cant. MSS./various; Reg., passim; H.C. Mag., V, VI; Lambeth MSS./S.R./78/5; /S.R./79/8.

2. Churchill, I, 54-60.

3. Ibid. I, 60-62; C. Morris, 'The Commissary of the Bishop in the Diocese of Lincoln', JEL, X (1959), 50-65, and especially 58, 62, and 63; R.L. Storey, Diocesan Administration in the Fifteenth Century, (York, 1959).

4. Sister Mary Justine Peter, 'A Study of the Administration of the Henrician Act of Supremacy in Canterbury Diocese', (Loyola University Ph.D. thesis, 1959), comparing Lambeth MS./'Registrum Cranmeri', fos. 344v and 17-17v. Also compare Reg., pp. 423-25 with commissions given in Churchill, II, 13-16 and also the remarks on the office in Reg., p. xxiv.

The commissary general was the archbishop's permanent representative in the diocese. His title of 'commissary general' served to distinguish him from other 'commissaries'. The commissary general was a permanent official holding a specific office and not a man commissioned, as were many 'commissaries', in order to fulfill one particular assignment. He was not the archbishop's chancellor (a title reserved for an archiepiscopal officer who was concurrently archiepiscopal vicar general and official principal)¹ but he did perform, within the diocese, many of the functions of the chancellors of the bishops.

The nature of the commissary general's office varied somewhat according to the terms of the commission granted to him. Stephen Nevinson, LL.D., (a cousin of Cranmer's commissary general and erstwhile owner of some Cranmer MSS.), Parker's first commissary general, held a commission dated Lambeth, 12 January 1560, which stated that Nevinson could act in person or by deputy but that the commission was valid only during Parker's good pleasure. The commission which Parker issued on 3 November, 1563 to Nevinson's successor, Vincent Denne LL.B., was practically the same as that to Nevinson. The commission first granted to Thomas Lawse, M.A., on 29 January, 1570 was somewhat less comprehensive: matrimonial suits, marriage licenses and dispensations, sequestration and the prerogative probate right were not mentioned.² A fuller commission was issued from Parker to Lawse in 1571 which included most of these matters³ and then, on 1 February, 1575 Parker

1. For detailed explanations of these and other offices of the archbishop's central administration see Churchill, *passim*; *Reg.*, pp. i-xxix; M. Parker and J. Joscelyn, *De Antiquitate Ecclesiae Britannicae* (Hanover, 1605), *passim*.

2. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/28, fos. 1-2v (Nevinson); *Reg.*, pp. 423 (Denne); *ibid.*, pp. 576-77 (Lawse).

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 608-610.

issued a fuller ('ampla') commission which was the most comprehensive and which was among other things to be valid for Lawse's lifetime.¹ This life-grant was, however, ignored by Parker's ^{juridical} immediate successors, sede vacante ~~ordinary~~ dean Godwyn ~~and the chapter~~,²

Part of the reason for the variations in the commissions was contention between Parker's archiepiscopal and his diocesan administrators over the extent of their jurisdictions. In 1570 Parker's vicar general Thomas Yale seems to have established an exclusive claim to the right to dispense and license in marriage matters. He delegated this power to commissary general Lawse in 1573. It was not until 1575 that Lawse won back this right as his direct from the archbishop, not as his only as the vicar general's deputy.³ There was also a dispute, involving Peter Lyly, John Incent and Francis Aldriche, between the archiepiscopal and diocesan registrars over the office of scribe or registrar of marriage licenses, dispensations, etc.⁴

1. Ibid., pp. 1089-1091; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/32, fos. 107-108.

2. Ibid., fos. 127-128v, 202-203. Unless otherwise noted, material in this section is drawn from references given in note 2, p. 53. For sede vacante administration, see Churchill, I, 551-572 and Reg., 1191-1194. For biographical material on Nevinson see appendix pp. 384-86; for Denne, see Foster, AO., I, 394; Reg., pp. 425-449; P.C.C./1519/72 Sainberbe; AC., XXV, 271 et passim; and for Thomas Lawse appendix pp. 368-69 and Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/37, fos. 196-197; Corresp., p. 442.

3. See references in note 2, p. 53 and note 1, this page.

4. For materials on the registrars, including Anthony Huse, and their disputes, see P.R.O./C. 47/64/3/number 68; Cant. MS./Reg. V³ (1567-69), fos. 51v-52, 86; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/52, fo. 295; Reg., pp. xxi, 1, 7, 191-92, 240, 315, 474, 529, 574, 576, 579, 755, 758-59; Churchill, I, 599-606; Parker and Joscelyn, op.cit., pp. 31, 33; C.C.C.C. MS./114, fo. 821; P.C.C./1588/13 Leicester; F.J. Shirley, Elizabeth's First Archbishop (London, 1948), p. 21; B.M. MS./Stowe /570, fos. 127v, 128; Cant. MS./Register of Licenses, I (1568-78), fo. 29v; cf. Canterbury Marriage Licenses, ed. J.M. Cowper (Canterbury, 1892), p. iii; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/32, fos. 107-108; Allegations of Marriage Licenses... 1543-1869, ed. G.J. Armytage, Harleian Society Publications, XXIV (1886).

The commissary general was the ecclesiastical 'ordinary' within the more than fifty-two parishes (including those which before the Reformation had been within the jurisdiction of Wingham college)^{which} were exempt from the jurisdiction of the archdeacon. As 'ordinary' the commissary general was responsible, except when the archbishop was conducting a visitation, for the maintenance of lay and clerical discipline within the exempt parishes.¹

Contemporaries must have seenⁿ the commissary general of Canterbury primarily in his role as judge of the consistory court.² In fact, he practically created the court: in the commissions Parker issued in 1571 and 1572, the archbishop specifically authorized the commissary general to commission, and to revoke the commissions of, proctors, apparitors, 'nuncios', etc. (with the exception of the registrar) whom the commissary general deemed were needed for the carrying out of his work. The commission of 1575 even empowered the commissary general to appoint rural deans.³ With the assistance of these minor officers the commissary general was able to conduct most of his business, with the exception of visitations, through the consistory court.

As judge of the consistory court the commissary general heard cases of three general kinds: 'office', 'instance' and testamentary. 'Office' or 'ex officio' business comprised the actions taken by the court against those suspected of ecclesiastical crimes, and ex officio business was itself of three kinds. First of all there was ex officio mero business. It was business brought before

1. T. Moore, Dictionary of the English Church (London, 1881), p. 325, sub 'ordinary'.

2. Woodcock, pp. 37-38. The Wells counterpart was the official principal (R.W. Dunning, 'The Wells Consistory Court in the Fifteenth Century', Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society, CVI (1961-62), 50).

3. Reg., pp. 610, 1090; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/28, fo. 1v.

the court by one of its own officers. If, for example, an apparitor had grounds for suspecting someone of adultery, witchcraft, sorcery, or some other serious ecclesiastical crime he could have the suspect tried. Secondly, at least during the period of Parker's administration, business arising out of the commissary general's visitations, if that business were not settled at once, became ex officio business of the consistory court, and was indistinguishable from other ex officio business. Thirdly, information could be laid in the court by someone against someone else. Such cases were known as ex officio promote cases because they had been 'promoted' by someone other than one of the court personnel. Contrary to the situation in medieval Canterbury, such ex officio promote cases were by no means rare in the Canterbury consistory court under Parker.¹ (It should not be forgotten that the archdiaconal court was the place where ex officio business, as well as most of the other kinds heard by the consistory court, from non-exempt parishes was heard.)

Instance cases comprised disputes between party and party; that is, it was made up of cases begun at the instance of---'ad instantiam'---the wronged party. Breach of promise, slander and the withholding of tithes were the most important such cases during the time of Parker's administration.

The wills of the parishioners of parishes exempt from the jurisdiction of the archdeacon were proved before the commissary general in the consistory court.² If one of these wills were contested the case would be settled right there in the consistory court itself. Disputes over wills proved by special commission before

1. Woodcock, pp. 31-32, 50-71, and especially 68.

2. Maidstone MS./series P.R.C./43.

the incumbent of the testator's parish could be heard before the commissary general,¹ and so could disputes over the value of all, or part, of a testator's estate. Thomas, the son of John Roper, for example, maintained that his father's goods had been 'marvelouslie undervalued' at £6, and Thomas's plea was heard before the commissary general.² Also, as in the diocese of Lincoln,³ the Canterbury commissary general heard probate disputes initiated anywhere in the diocese, including those over wills originally proved in the archdiaconal court.⁴

Then, too, there were the nuncupative wills from the exempt parishes. Nuncupative wills were, from the point of view of the consistory court, a particularly lucrative source of trouble. For example, when 'Sir' Robert Slee vicar of St. Alphegi, Canterbury, lay dying in 1560 he said that he wanted to make his will but 'that he was soo weake that he could not write' and therefore 'decreaid' his will 'by word of mowth'. The will was written down by James Pinvage, one of the Cathedral singers, but was never 'red to the testator in his lifetyme... [because], as thinges came to the testator's mynd, so they were written from tyme to tyme'. Slee apparently named his bequests and then asked the lady of the house in which he lay to give some money to the poor and to pray for his soul. He then said that 'Mr. [Robert] Vincent', a proctor in the consistory court,

'was about his buysynes at London for whom he did greatly long for he had all his writinges and all his doinges which no man knew of but he and therefore willed that he should rule and ordre all his goodes and receyve and pay

1. Cant. MS./X/10/7, fo. 63.
2. Cant. MS./X/10/17, fo. 79 (1574).
3. C. Morris, *op.cit.*, p. 62.
4. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./39/2-8, depositions of witnesses in testamentary cases (1555-1579).

all his dettes and legaces'.

Slee then bequeathed to Vincent for his own use £40 saying that he had no kin upon whom to bestow it. In spite of these statements, however, a dispute arose over whether Slee intended that Vincent should be his executor and the case came before the consistory court to be settled.¹

In another case William Wattes, the vicar of St. Margaret's, Dover, was called before the court in July 1574 to testify to the authenticity of a will exhibited as that of Richard Croyden, Jr. After declaring that the will exhibited was indeed that of Croyden, Wattes went on to describe how it had been made. Wattes said that Croyden had sent for him on Monday, 29 March, 1574 and he, finding Croyden sick, did 'his dutye in visitacion of the sick according to the order of his vocacion' and then 'motioned' 'the sick man to take order for his temporal goods'. Croyden replied that the reason he had sent for the vicar was to get him to write his will. Wattes then wrote the will as Croyden dictated, and read it back to him. Croyden declared that it was good. Two witnesses were then called, one of whom was the parish clerk. Wattes wrote down the names of these two witnesses at the end of the will and then signed his own name.²

In addition, the commissary general exercised within the diocese of Canterbury a right of prerogative probate.³ That is, in general in the province of Canterbury if a man died 'with bona notabilia in more than one diocese'⁴

1. Cant. MS./X/10/7, fo. 1v, evidence of one William Roberts of All Saints, Canterbury, and Edward Dalton, sixty-year-old Cathedral singer who had been born at Newcastle. 'Pinvage' is one way of reading the MS.

2. Cant. MS./X/10/17, fos. 182-183. For a few other testamentary cases cf. ibid., fos. 72v, 79, 121-122v, 130.

3. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/38, fo. 2, marginal note 'prerogativa testamenta'.

4. D.M.M. Shorrocks, 'Probate Jurisdiction within the Diocese of Canterbury', Bul. I.H.R., XXXI (1958), 186-195 for much of the content of this paragraph.

his will was proved in the prerogative court of Canterbury, sitting in London, rather than in any diocesan court of probate. But within the diocese of Canterbury the commissary general could exercise this prerogative right. Any testator of whatever parish in Canterbury diocese who had bona notabilia in both Canterbury and another diocese could (but did not necessarily) have his will proved in the consistory court before the commissary general. Sail^oers, too, who died at sea and whose ships docked on the Kent coast or who died in a port within the diocese of Canterbury had their wills proved in the Canterbury consistory court. Why some prerogative wills were proved at London, some in the consistory court of Canterbury,¹ is difficult to say, though the actual terms of the archbishop's commission to the individual commissary general may have accounted for it in part. The commissary general received the probate fee from the prerogative wills² (as from the other wills proved before him) so he would want the extra business.

The commissary general usually inducted, on the authority of a writ from the archbishop, new incumbents of the exempt parishes into their temporal possessions,³ and, from 1571 onwards,⁴ Parker authorized the commissary general to proceed against illicit occupants or administrators of parsonages, dignities,

1. Index of Wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1558-1583, III, ed. S.A. Smith and L.L. Duncan (London, 1898), 379-382, sub Kent; 'Consistory Court Index to Wills, 1396-1603', Maidstone MS./Index 48/15; Maidstone MSS./P.R.C./32/ volumes 28-43.

2. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./38/28, fo. 2.

3. Ibid., fo. 1v; Reg., pp. xxxii, 777 sub Stephen Nevinson. For a similar writ to the archdeacon's official cf. ibid., p. 768 (John Steward) and for one to the dean and chapter for the induction of a new prebendary cf. ibid., p. 770 (Alexander Nowell); Cant. MS./Register of Licenses, I (1568-78), fos. 13 sub William Hawkins, 19 sub Thomas Knell, etc.

4. Reg., pp. 609, 1090.

offices or benefices within the diocese of Canterbury.

When benefices fell vacant it was customary for the ecclesiastical authorities to place the care of properties and revenues of the benefice in the hands of a 'sequestrator'. Sixteen commissions of sequestration of a vacant benefice in the diocese of Canterbury by the archbishop are recorded in Parker's register.¹ For example, in 1561 Parker sequestered the fruits of the vacant rectory of Wymmingwold into the care of Vincent Nethersole, a local yeoman.²

Parker, however, normally delegated responsibility for the care of the property and revenues of vacant benefices within the entire diocese of Canterbury to the commissary general (who would in turn commission a sequestrator). Each of Parker's three successive commissaries general (Stephen Nevinson, Ll.D., Vincent Denne and Thomas Lawse, Ll.D.)³ was specifically commissioned to issue commissions of sequestration and to correct sequestrators who failed in their duties. The fact that the commissary general took care of sequestration business probably explains why a separate office, that of sequestrator general, which had made a brief medieval appearance, never flourished in the diocese of Canterbury the way it did in some other English sees.⁴

For the period between 1568 and the end of Parker's administration the commissary general issued at least 26 commissions for the sequestration of the property and revenues of benefices which were vacant, unserved, or both.⁵

1. Reg., pp. 344, 358, 364, 395, 426, 776-777, 781, 786-787, 790, 830, 834, 855, 1098, 1108, 1134-1136, 1158. Four of these are of a date after 1568: Ibid., pp. 855, 1098, 1108, 1110. See also A Law Dictionary, ed. G. Jacob (London, 1772), sub 'sequestration'.

2. Reg., p. 364.

3. Reg., p. xxiv.

4. Churchill, I, 60-62; Storey, op.cit.

5. Cant. MS./Register of Licenses, I (1568-1578), fos. 5v, 6, 6v, 13, 15v, 16v, 17, 17v, 21v, 22, 23v, 24, 24v, 25v, 26v, 27, 27v, 28.

Probably there were other such commissions issued of which the record is no longer extant.

If the buildings and property of a benefice were falling into ruin through neglect, the commissary general could sequester the fruits of the same into the hands of someone who would undertake to repair the properties of the benefice.¹ Parker also authorized his three successive commissaries general to sequester from incumbents revenues which were forfeit to the crown or to a private party as the result of a lawsuit or in payment of a debt.² Copies survive of commissions issued for these reasons.³ On one occasion commissary general Thomas Lawse simply sequestered to Henry Wood, the vicar of Hougham, the fruits of the rectory because the rector had not paid Wood the annual pension due him.⁴ On another occasion Lawse did not issue a formal sequestration commission but simply sent to cathedral preacher John Walsall letters 'ad colligend fructus etc. ad vicaria de Sutton Vallance spectant'.⁵ When the benefice was again filled, or the cure served, or the repairs done the commissary general would recall the sequestration commission.⁶

It was probably a far more satisfactory arrangement to have as an overseer of sequestrations the commissary general, who lived in the diocese, rather than the archbishop himself who was usually at London. For one thing, the person to whom the commissary general or the archbishop committed the care of the temporalities of a benefice, the sequestrator, was usually resident within the diocese. Sometimes

1. Ibid., fos. 24 and 24v for three such cases: There are others scattered through visitation records.

2. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/28, fo. 1v; Reg., pp. 423, 609, 1089.

3. Cant. MS./Register of Licenses, I (1568-1578), fo. 7v for sequestration on account of a debt to a private party. Ibid., fos. 19v, 25, 26, 27, 28, 28v, 29v for examples of sequestration on account of a debt of taxes etc. to the crown.

4. Ibid., fo. 4.

5. Ibid., fo. 25.

6. E.g., ibid., fo. 19v regarding Lympne.

the sequestrator was a cleric, sometimes a layman, and even, upon occasion, the widow of a deceased incumbent.¹ It was the responsibility of the sequestrator to collect the usual revenues such as tithes, to hire a curate out of the revenue collected, and to make an annual account.² When vacant benefices were sequestrated, the commissary general usually took a bond of from £10 to £40 from the sequestrator. In one instance the commissary general required the sequestrator, a member of the Nethersole family, to enter into a bond of one hundred marks with the archbishop.³ These bonds were presumably forfeit if the sequestrator misused the property or revenues of the benefice or failed to make a satisfactory account for them. The net profits which accrued to the sequestrator during the period of vacancy were, in law, the property of the incoming incumbent and one occasionally finds references to the fact that an incoming incumbent, at the time of induction into the properties of his benefice, was satisfied by the account made to him by the sequestrator.⁴

Parker delegated to each of his three successive commissaries general jurisdiction over matrimonial, divorce and breach of promise cases arising within both exempt and non-exempt parishes. (One of Parker's policies was to bring as much order as possible into the matrimonial situation.) Jurisdiction over divorce litigation is specifically granted in Parker's commissions to Nevinson, Denne and Lawse,⁵ but is not mentioned in archdeacon Guest's commission to his official.⁶

1. Cant. MS./Register of Licenses, I (1568-1578), fo. 24v, and references given in note 1, p. 60.

2. Reg., p. 364.

3. Cant. MS./Register of Licenses, I (1568-1578), fo. 27, and references given in note 1, p. 60.

4. Ibid., fo. 20v regarding Cosmos Bleane.

5. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/28, fos. 1-1v (Nevinson); Reg., pp. 423-424 (Denne); *ibid.*, pp. 609, 1089 (Lawse); see biographical appendix below. Cf. Table of Prohibited Degrees, STC., 19, 281-19, 286.

6. Reg., p. 609; Churchill, I, 381n, 610-611.

After 1571 Parker gave the commissary general the right to hear cases referred from a lower, i.e. the archdiaconal, diocesan court. Moreover the diocesan commissary general could dispense with the reading of the banns of marriage (sometimes as vicar general Thomas Yale's surrogate, sometimes on a commission from Parker) providing that the dispensations to be issued were not prejudicial to the authority of the archbishop's court of faculties. The commissary general usually had the right to issue marriage and schoolteaching licenses for the entire diocese.¹ He could proceed against those not properly licensed or who did not have their marriages solemnized in church.

Parker's three successive commissaries general, Nevinson, Denne, and Lawse, were all trained civil lawyers and all held doctorates of laws before they died. Denne was an Oxonian. Nevinson had taken his university training at Cambridge between 1540 and 1553 the last nine years of which time Parker was master of Corpus. Parker was again master in 1558-1559---years during which Lawse was a student at, and fellow of, Corpus.² None of the three, as far as is known, had been Marian refugees.

Nevinson, heretofore best known as the man from whose possession Parker had been able only with the aid of William Cecil and the privy council to extract certain of Cranmer's manuscripts, was a cousin of Cranmer's commissary general Christopher Nevinson---himself a considerable bibliophile and scholar.³

Vincent Denne came from Kent. His father's lands in Kingston parish⁴ were

1. Maidstone MSS./P.R.C./32/28, fo. 1v; Cant. MS./Register of Licenses, I (1568-1578); Reg., pp. 360-1, 573, and 1059.

2. Venn, AC., iii, 52 (Lawse), 307 (Parker); cf. biographical appendix below pp. 368-69.

3. Below pp. ~~368-69~~ ³⁸⁴⁻⁸⁶.

4. P.C.C./1591/72 Sainberbe; AC., XXV, 271 passim.

close to Beakesbourne, Parker's principal manor in the diocese, and Parker's commission to Denne was dated 'apud Bekesborne'. Denne, a career civil lawyer, proceeded B.C.L. (Oxon.) in 1555 and was, on 25 May, 1562, listed among the 'socii' of All Souls', Oxford.¹ From 3 November, 1563² until Parker's visitation of 1569 he was Parker's diocesan commissary general and was also, during approximately the same period, the archdeacon's official. He was not ordained and hence not in a position to augment his income (from procurations, court fees etc.) by holding diocesan benefices. Moreover, if the severely brief preamble to his will is any indication, he was not particularly religious. Through inheritance and purchase he had an estate, when he made his will, comprising property at Kingston, Beakesbourne and Great Hardres and a few hundred pounds in cash.

Peter Lyly, registrar from 1551 to 1568, son of humanist William, brother of Pole's chaplain George, father of two Cambridge-educated sons one of whom, John, was to win some fame as author of Euphues³, was, if his friendship with protestant printer Reginal Wolfe and the content of his will mean anything, fervently religious:

'I doe,' Lyly wrote, 'moste humblye commit my sinfull soule to the greate mercye of Almightye God, my creator, whensoever it shall please his goodness to dissolve the same from this my mortall and sinnefull bodye, steadfastly and faythfullye beleiving only by the merittes of the most bitter deathe, passyon, and bloudshedinge of his only deare sonne my alone savyor and redeamer Jhesus Christe that I have and shall frely receive forgeivenes of all my synnes; and that at the greate and dreadefull daye of the generall and gloriouse resurrection

1. Foster, AO., I, 394, sub Denne; Reg., p. 449.

2. Ibid., p. 425.

3. DNB.; Venn, AC., I, i, 85; Foster, AO., I, ii, 914; Maidstone MSS./P.R.C. 32/31, fo. 105; /P.R.C. 21/1, fos. 142v-147v; W.G. Urry, 'John Lyly and Canterbury', Friends of Canterbury Cathedral 33rd Report (1960), 19-25. F. Yates, 'Italian Teachers in Elizabethan England', Journal of the Warburg Institute I (1937-38), 112-113, sheds new light on the Italian influences on Lyly and Stephen Gosson. Lyly was a freeman of the city of London, and perhaps one of the Company of Notaries Public of London; cf. T. Smith, A Discourse Upon Usury, ed. R.H. Tawney (London, 1925), p. 97.

and of Judgement shall aryse agayne in this fleshe being chaunged from corruption to incorrupcion, and shall bothe [in] bodye and [in] soule inherit the gloriouse Kingdome of Heaven everlastinglye prepared for all the electe people of God before the foundations of the worlde, of the which number I undoubtedlye perswade my selfe to be one throughe the exceding greate favour and mercye of the Almightye Lorde God my Heavenly Father. My sinnefull bodye I commit to the earthe as earthe to earthe and duste to duste to be buried at the discretion of myne executors.'¹

Parker had not appointed Lyly, but the second registrar, Francis Aldriche, he did appoint. Aldriche was the son of Gregory Aldriche of Norwich, gent.,² and the grandson of alderman Thomas Aldriche.³ Thomas Aldriche had, in 1549, taken some part in the foundation of the Norwich grammar⁴ school and was in the same year prominent in negotiations with the 'rebellious' Ket. As with Peter Lyly,^{Francis} Aldriche seems to have been primarily a notary public; nevertheless Francis Aldriche matriculated pensioner at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1554 and he later sent his son (also Francis) to Cambridge.⁵

On 30 Dec., 1561 Parker granted Aldriche, generosus, the reversion to the registrarship and the grant was confirmed by the dean and chapter on 4 September, 1562.⁶ He assumed the office upon Lyly's death in 1568 and continued to serve until he died in 1602 as registrar of the consistory court. (Incidentally, Parker on 14 November, 1569, granted to Peter Lyly, son of the recently-deceased registrar, the reversion to the office whenever Aldriche died.⁷ By 1602, however, Peter

1. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/31, fo. 105.
2. As Francis Aldriche stated in his will. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/52, fo. 294 (1600).
3. The Visitation of Norfolk... [1563], ed. H. Rye, Harleian Society Publications, XXXII (1891), 4.
4. H.W. Saunders, A History of Norwich Grammar School (Norwich, 1932), p. 107.
5. Venn, AC., I, i, 14, 12 (in that order).
6. Maidstone MS./ P.R.C./32/31, fos. 234v-235.
7. Cant. MS./Reg. V² (1567-69), fo. 87.

(ob. 1609) had surrendered this reversion to Whitgift's household servants Christopher Wormall and George Paul. Whitgift then obtained the reversion and granted the office to Humphrey Clarke and the antiquary William Somner).¹

Though registrar Francis Aldriche was probably a cousin of Thomas Aldriche, the Cambridge puritan, who was for a time master of Corpus, and who dubbed Parker the pope of Lambeth² and Benet, Francis Aldriche could not have served the archbishops in their diocese for 34 years if his religious views had been too antithetical to those of Parker and Whitgift. But, as his will reveals, he was by no means a religious 'neuter'.²

Fortunately we have some information about the minor officers of the consistory court. Parker himself, through the court of faculties, licensed those who wanted to ~~begin careers as~~ ^{become} notaries public ^{including those in his diocese,³} ~~in his diocese,~~ but the commissary general chose the apparitors and proctors for his court. Some were notaries public. Some, perhaps most, of the consistory court apparitors and proctors were local men. Apparitor Richard (alias Henry) Tilley, for example, was born at Newenden, near Ashford, around 1496. In 1568 he described himself as apparitor general of the consistory court which meant, it seems, that he was the chief of the apparitors who served in that court. Tilley had lived at various places in Kent until he was twenty-eight years of age and then spent a year in London as an apprentice. For the next 44 years, that is, from around 1524 until 1568, he had lived at Ashford. He then moved to Canterbury for a year, thence to Smarden where he lived

1. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/39, fos. 1-2. DNB., sub Somner. See below pp. 339-342.

2. C.H. and T. Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigiensis (Cambridge, 1858), I, 360-1; Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz., 1547-1580, pp. 190, 383, 388, 550; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/52, fo. 294.

3. Lambeth MS./723, fos. 10v, 16v, 41v.

for two years, and then back to Ashford where, at age 78, he was living in 1574.¹

Richard Boll, apparitor within the deanery of Sutton, was born at Chartham, Canterbury diocese, around 1517. From 1537 until 1567 he lived at Godmersham. He served occasionally as proctor for litigants in cases between party and party.²

Robert Shawe, another of the apparitors, was born in Derbyshire but had lived in various parishes in the city of Canterbury from at least 1556 until the early 1570's. He was 47 years of age in 1570 and by then he described himself, as Tilley had done two years earlier, as apparitor general of the consistory court.³

Local men who acted as apparitors had the advantage of familiarity with the district---something which was necessary in order to find the people to whom they had to deliver citations, court orders, copies of wills and from whom they sometimes had to collect scribal fees.⁴ At least some of the time in Canterbury diocese, as in the diocese of Gloucester,⁵ apparitors were assigned to one or two of the rural deaneries⁶ and this would have facilitated the acquiring of an intimate knowledge of the area for which they were responsible. Much as knowledge of local geography would have helped, however, the fact that some of these apparitors were in no way socially or educationally superior to the people whom they were citing probably made their activities even more odious. Richard Tilley, for example, was illiterate: when he gave evidence before the consistory court in

1. Cant. MSS./X/10/11, fo. 20; /X/10/17, fo. 118.

2. Cant. MS./X/10/7, fos. 160-161, 193.

3. Cant. MSS./X/10/7, fo. 285v; /X/10/9, fo. 51; /X/10/11, fo. 283. I have not discovered the homes of apparitors Richard Hilles, William Silver, William Cole, or of the man known simply as Mounte. Cant. MS./Y/2/25, fos. 1-end; Cant. MS./X/10/15, fo. 13.

4. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./3/17, verso of second to last folio.

5. F.D. Price, 'Elizabethan Apparitors in the Diocese of Gloucester', CQR, CXXXIV (1942), 37-55.

6. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./43/3, fos. a-e; Cant. MS./X/10/15, fo. 13.

1574 he signed with his (sheep?) mark.¹

Proctors ~~probably~~ had to be more skilled than the apparitors. For one thing, they had to plead the cases of the people for whom they stood proxy. Most of those who served as proctors in the consistory court were notaries public. Three of them, Robert Whythorne, notary public, John Edwards, notary public, and John Baker served at least once as surrogate judges of the consistory court which indicates that they among the proctors at least must have been reasonably well-skilled in the law.²

In addition to men like Thomas Bostock who served only occasionally (in 1566 Bostock initiated a suit in the consistory court against a client who had failed to pay him his 'salary' as proctor),³ at least nine men served as proctors in the consistory court during the time of Parker's administration. One of these men was Robert Whythorne, gent., who described himself as proctor general of the consistory court and who was one of the most industrious men in that court. He sometimes deputized for Peter Lyly as registrar. He was scribe of the archdeacon's court in 1564 and 1566.⁴ He may have been the Robert Whythorne who supplicated for the Oxford Bachelor of Civil Law degree in 1572.⁵ He was an important enough gentleman of the city of Canterbury to be able, in 1568, to lease for thirty-one years from the dean and chapter the 'Checker Inn' on the High Street, Canterbury (in St. Andrew's parish) for an annual rent of £4 10s 8d.⁶ Possibly he was related to Thomas Whythorne, the pioneer madrigalist whom Parker patronized and who did some (musical) work in Canterbury cathedral, though Thomas Whythorne in his autobiography made no mention of having a relative named Robert.⁷

1. Cant. MS./X/10/17, fo. 118.
2. Cant. MS./X/8/9, fos. 3v and 6 (1568).
3. Cant. MS./Y/2/25, fo. 203v.
4. Cant. MS./Z/5/2, no foliation; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./3/17, fos. 29, 115v.
5. Foster, AO., I, iv, 1620.
6. Cant. MS./Reg. V² (1567-69), fos. 61, 58, and 59 (in that order).
7. The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne, ed. J.M. Osborne (Oxford, 1961).

Conclusive biographical details about the other proctors are somewhat fewer. Individuals called John Baker,¹ Robert White,² Nicholas Jones,³ John Edwards,⁴ and George Piers⁵ had wills proved in the Canterbury ecclesiastical courts during the appropriate periods, but none of those wills contain conclusive evidence that they were the wills of the consistory court proctors of those names. A search for the wills of those five, and of proctors Robert Whythorne and Robert Vincent, has shown only that within the diocese of Canterbury there were families bearing most of those names.⁶ We do, however, have some biographical information. Richard Wallis said in 1570 that he was thirty-eight years of age and that he had lived in the city of Canterbury for about ten years. Possibly he was the Richard Wallis who got an Oxford B.A. in 1581 and, in his late forties, married a girl from Kent.⁷ He was still serving in the consistory court in 1585.⁸

Another proctor was John Edwards, whom Parker had licensed (through the court of faculties) as a notary public,⁹ who was twenty-six years of age in 1570, and who had sufficient knowledge of Latin to serve as deputy registrar,¹⁰ and of the law to have served, in 1568, as surrogate judge.¹¹ He occasionally deputed for

1. Maidstone MSS./P.R.C./32/35, fo. 96 (1584); /P.R.C./32/38, fo. 172 (1597).
2. Maidstone MSS./P.R.C./17/47, fos. 117-117v (1588, Warehorne); /17/54, fos. 282-285 (1602, St. Peter's, Thanet).
3. Maidstone MSS./P.R.C./34/46, fos. 50-52 (1623); inventory /P.R.C./28/10, fos. 82-83v.
4. Maidstone MSS./P.R.C./32/43, fo. 109; /P.R.C./48/49, fo. 195; /P.R.C./32/47, fo. 103.
5. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/45, fo. 195 (1575, Tenterden).
6. Cant. MS./Z/5/2. No will of a Robert Vincent has been found at Maidstone.
7. Ibid., no foliation; Foster, AO., iv, 1562. No appropriate will has been found at Maidstone.
8. Cant. MS./Z/5/2, no foliation. No appropriate will has been found at Maidstone.
9. Lambeth MS./723, fo. 10v.
10. Cant. MS./X/10/11, fo. 265.
11. Cant. MS./X/8/9, fos. 3v, 6.

Thomas Cranmer the registrar of the archdeacon's court.¹

Work as a proctor may have been, in some instances, a way by which men financed university study. Though the commonness of the names renders it difficult conclusively to prove that they were the Canterbury proctors, men bearing the names John Baker,² Robert Vincent,³ Robert White,⁴ Richard Wallis⁵ and Nicholas Jones⁶ all took university degrees at dates which make it possible that they were the Canterbury proctors, and a John Edwards attended Cambridge during the appropriate period.⁷

(ii) THE BISHOP SUFFRAGAN OF DOVER.

Assistant *taking their titles from extinct Eastern sees,*
~~Suffragan bishops, of Canterbury~~ had been appointed from time to time in medieval England,⁸ ~~and~~ One of the reformation statutes of 1535 made provision for the appointment of bishops suffragan of twenty-five different places in England.⁹ They were to be appointed according to custom, 'for the more spedye admystracion of the sacramentes and other good, holsome and devout thinges and laudable ceremonyes to the encrease of Goddi's honour and for the commodyte of good and devout people'.¹⁰ *The suffragan bishop in Canterbury diocese was the bishop of Dover. Dover* ~~One of the suffragan sees was Dover. It~~ was held by Richard Yngworth from 1537 to 1545, Richard Thorneden from 1545 to his death in 1557, and then lay vacant until the appointment of Richard Rogers who held it from May, 1569 until his death in 1597.¹¹ He was the last bishop suffragan of

1. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./3/18, fo. 111v.

2. Venn, AC., I, i, 71.

3. Ibid., I, iv, 304; also B.A. (Oxon.), 1576 and M.A. (Oxon.), 1579. Foster AO., I, iv, 1546.

4. Venn, AC., I, iv, 388.

5. Foster, AO., I, iv, 1562.

6. Venn, AC., I, iv, 486.

7. Ibid., I, iv, 88.

8. F. Makower, Constitutional History of the Church of England (London, 1895), pp. 309-310; A Handbook of British Chronology, ed. F.M. Powicke and E.B. Fryde, second edition (London, 1960), pp. 266-269.

9. 26 Hen. VIII c. 14; in SR., III, 509-510.

10. Ibid., I, 509.

11. A Handbook of British Chronology, p. 272.

of Dover to be appointed until Edward Parry was appointed in 1870.¹

According to the Henrician act, if a bishop or archbishop wished to have a suffragan within his diocese he was to choose 'two honest and discrete spirituall parsonnes beyng learnyd and of good conversacion'² and present them to the King who would then choose between them. Parker selected Richard Rogers and John Butler, a canon of Canterbury cathedral, and on 12 May, 1569 the Queen presented the bishopric to Rogers by letters patent under the great seal and ordered Parker to consecrate Rogers.³ Although the statute allowed the archbishop three months delay, Parker so arranged ~~this~~ ^{it} that Rogers was consecrated three days after the issue of the patent: on 15 May, 1569 Rogers was consecrated by Parker in his chapel at Lambeth with the assistance of Grindal and Guest. Parker's principal registrar, John Incent, was one of the witnesses and he noted that Rogers was consecrated according to the customary ceremonies, that he took the oath, and that he was decorated with episcopal insignia. Dean of St. Paul's, Gabriel Goodman, Parker's chaplains Andrew Pierson and William King, England's two leading ecclesiastical lawyers Thomas Yale and William Drury, 'et multis aliis testibus' were present.⁴ Parker probably paid the expenses of this consecration as the statute required him to do.⁵ On 20 May, Parker issued letters testimonial describing the circumstances of the consecration.⁶ He also mentioned a forthcoming visitation.

According to the statute the suffragans were to have such powers as by the diocesan 'shall be gyven to the said suffraganes as to suffragans of this realme

1. DNB., sub Richard Rogers.
2. SR., III, 509.
3. Reg., pp. 127-128.
4. Reg., p. 127.
5. SR., III, 510.
6. Reg., p. 127.

heretofore hath byn used and accustomed.'¹ In other words, the powers of the suffragan were, in theory at least, governed by the terms of the commission issued to them by the diocesan for whom they were working. Parker commissioned Rogers at Lambeth on 24 May, 1569.² Rogers was empowered to catechise and confirm children of either sex anywhere within the city, diocese and province of Canterbury, within peculiar jurisdictions and within the immediate jurisdiction of Christ Church, Canterbury. (Although the clergy of the diocese were required to teach children and servants the catechism, this is the earliest reference to confirmation that I have found. Canon Thomas Becon was opposed to confirmation and there was considerable opposition among the puritans to what was considered a popish ceremony.³)

Rogers was also empowered to stop religious services being held in profane places and to suspend and place under interdict, and to 'reconcile', any church or churchyard which had been polluted (in the spiritual sense) by the spilling of blood. He was empowered to ordain and to examine the credentials of priests and deacons within the city, diocese and province of Canterbury. The commission closed with a general clause the inclusive phraseology of which seems to have given Rogers quite considerable powers as Parker's spiritual vicar:

*'Ceteraque omnia et singula ad officium pontificale in premissis vel aliquo premissorum pertinentia, et spectantia et que in ea parte necessaria fuerint seu quomodolibet requisita fraternitate vestre vices nostras committimus et plenam in domino tenore presentium concedimus facultatem.'*⁴

Suffragans were forbidden by the statute to ask for any of the revenues of the see, and the suffragan bishoprics were unendowed. Hence, the suffragans of

1. SR., III, 510.

2. Reg., p. 526-527.

3. A Dictionary of English Church History, ed. Ollard, Crosse and Bond, third edition (London, 1948), pp. 139-42.

4. Reg., p. 526.

of Dover paid no first fruits, tenths or subsidies for their bishopric as such.¹ However, for 'the better meynテナunce of his dignitie', a suffragan might hold two benefices in addition to his bishopric.² This was, in fact, the situation under Parker. He had collated Rogers to Great Chart rectory on 19 January 1567³ and approximately a month after he had consecrated Rogers Parker collated him to the rectory of Midley.⁴ In both cases the previous rector had died. The nominal value of Midley rectory was £30⁵ and that of Great Chart £24 18s 6d⁶ so that even after the deduction of the annual tenth Rogers would be receiving over £50 per year from his two benefices. It is impossible to estimate, however, how much money Rogers made from ^{paid by Parker} fees for confirmation^s, ordination^s etc.

Rogers took a Cambridge M.A. in 1552⁷ and it may have been during the preceding years that he came to Parker's attention. Considering that he had a Cambridge M.A. and B.D., and an Oxford B.A. and M.A. by 1562⁸ he must have been a man of some learning. Whatever prompted Parker to put him forward for the office of suffragan, and none of Rogers' biographers has been able to explain exactly the archbishop's choice,⁹ Rogers was certainly an appropriate choice. He was a native of Kent and he chose as his wife the sister of registrar Thomas

1. The suffragan see of Dover was not mentioned in the subsidy act of 1571 (13 Eliz. c. 26), nor was record of income from suffragan sees entered on the subsidy rolls.

2. SR., III, 510.

3. Reg., p. 828.

4. Reg., p. 852. Cf. biographical appendix.

5. VE., I, 50.

6. Ibid., 64.

7. DNB,

8. Ibid.,

9. J.M. Cowper, The Lives of the Deans of Canterbury (1541 to 1900) (Canterbury, 1900), pp. 44-54. Cf. A.F. Pollard's biography of Rogers in DNB. See biographical appendix.

Cranmer whose activities were of some importance in the diocese. He was related to, or, by the time he died, very friendly with many of the most important Kent gentry.¹ Richard and Isaac Colfe, Stephen Goldwell and his son, William Digges (who was probably related to Leonard the poet and Thomas the mathematician both of whom were of Kent)², William Lambard the antiquary, John Boys, Richard Lee, Henry Fynch, and William Hayman were among Rogers' friends. He was an active member of the commission of the peace,³ was a member of the high commission, and, if his own statements are true, did his best while dean of Canterbury to see that the lands of the cathedral were properly administered.⁴ He seems to have been a man who made friends and was trusted by them. Parker was not the only one to name him as an executor or overseer of his will.⁵ All evidence I have so far collected supports Cowper's eulogistic evaluation of Rogers' character and thirteen year career as dean of Canterbury cathedral:

'...a careful examination of his official acts leads to the conclusion that he was a quiet, God-fearing, conscientious man; always attentive to the affairs of his Church; rarely seeking his own gain or the advancement of his family. He may, I think, be emphatically called a good Dean; not a man of any great parts; but one who, in a devout spirit, endeavoured to do his duty in the position to which he had been promoted.'⁶

Rogers' religious position appears somewhat ambiguous: he was an exile in Frankfort and Garrett wrote that Rogers was one of the puritan party in the early 1560's.⁷ The preamble to his will indeed shows that he was a devout man, but if by 'puritan' we mean one who accepts all or part of Calvin's ideas about election

1. P.C.C./1597/61 Cobham.
2. DNB., sub Leonard Digges and Thomas Digges.
3. B.M. MS./Addit./33924, fos. 16-17v.
4. B.M. MS./Addit./33924, fos. 21-22v,
5. The very rich Edward Isaac, gent., made him joint executor. P.C.C./1573/19 Peter.
6. Cowper, p. 54.
7. C.H. Garrett, The Marian Exiles (Cambridge, 1938), p. 273.

and predestination, there is no trace of adherence to those ideas in Rogers' will. 'First' he wrote,

'I comend my soule into the handes of Allmightie God in whome and of whome I doe steadfastlie beleve accordinge to the articles of Christian Faith which are conteined in the creedes commonlie called the Apostles' Creede, the Nicene Creed and the Athanasian Creed. And, as touchinge the waie of my salvation, I doe likewise stedfastlie beleve that there is noe other name given unto men under heaven whereby they maie be saved but the name of Jesus Christ and therefore in him whollie and onelie, and in the merittes of his most bitter death and passion suffred for man's salvacion, I doe repose the whole trust and confidence of my salvacion utterlie reiecting all other waies and meanes thereunto whatsoever as ioynte causes thereof with him. Item: as touchinge my body, which after death is to rest in the earthe untill it shall be restored and reunited to my soule and fashioned like unto the glorious bodie of my saviour Jesus Christe after the workeninge whereby he is able even to subdue all thinges unto him, I will [it] to be buried in the aforesaid cathedral church within the chappell there now newly repaired and commonlie called "the preacher's chappell".¹

His will, as well as the offices he held and his membership on the high commission, show that he won and held the friendship of all three Elizabethan archbishops of Canterbury---a feat hardly credible if his thought was not relatively close to that of the establishment.

(iii) THE ARCHDEACON AND HIS OFFICIAL.

^eComplimentary to the work of the commissary general for the city and diocese of Canterbury was the work done by the archdeacon's 'official'. There was, until 1857, only one archdeaconry for the diocese of Canterbury and it was made up of the 220 or more² parishes for which the commissary general was not the ordinary.

1. P.C.C./1597/61 Cobham.

2. P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 208.

Though it had not always been so,¹ by the time of Parker's administration the office of archdeacon of Canterbury (valued at £163 11d per annum)² was almost a sinecure. Parker sometimes instructed his archdeacon to further a particular religious policy.³ The archdeacons, through visitation articles etc., were able to determine in a large measure what were the matters to which their 'official' gave most attention and thus it was important who held the office of archdeacon. But neither of Parker's two successive archdeacons ever, so far as the quite extensive records reveal, entered Kent qua archdeacon (though Guest was on the Kent commission of the peace) or conducted a visitation in person. All of his work the archdeacon did through an official'.⁴

The Elizabethan (in contrast to the medieval) archdeacon of Canterbury was not appointed by the archbishop but by the crown.⁵ The archdeacons seem to have been more closely associated with the royal entourage than with the archbishop's household. This was true, at least, of Edmund Guest during the latter years of his archdeaconship and it was true of Edmund Freke. Both Guest and Freke held the bishopric of Rochester (a royal appointment) concurrently and in commendam

1. Churchill, I, 43-53; A.H. Thompson 'Diocesan Organization in the Middle Ages: Archdeacons and Rural Deans', British Academy Proceedings, XXIX (1943), 7-8; Vetus Liber Eliensis, ed. C.L. Feltoe and E.H. Minns (Cambridge 1917) pp. xi-xxvi; The Archdeacon's Court: Liber Actorum 1584, ed. E.R. Brinkworth, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1942, 1943); A.P. Moore, 'Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Courts in the Archdeaconry of Leicester, 1516-35', Associated Architectural Societies Reports and Papers, XXVIII (1905-06), 117-220, 593-662; R. Peters, Oculus Episcopi... (Manchester, 1963), title page and p. 26; the archdeaconry of St. Alban's was certainly an office of a different sort than that of Canterbury. Cf. 31 Hen. VIII c. 13; Storey; Freke, Visitation Articles... I, 15-26.

2. PRO/E./334/8, fo. 324.

3. Reg., p. 378.

4. Churchill, I, 50.

5. C.P.R. Eliz., I (1558-60), 5; cf. ibid., I, 450; Reg., passim; Churchill, I, 48.

with the ~~archbishop~~^{archdeaconry}. Both held the office of royal almoner which traditionally was one of the most personal and lucrative of the royal offices.¹ Edmund Guest was one of the first four bishops appointed to the high commission (1560).

Edmund Guest, archdeacon from 1559 to 1571, was also closely associated with Parker. Guest had studied and taught at Cambridge when Parker was there, had gone into hiding during Mary's reign, and had entered Parker's household in early 1559. He deputized for four other bishops at Parker's enthronement and he assisted at the consecrations of Grindal (1559) and Cheyney (1562). Guest had published, in 1548, A Treatise Againste the Privee Masse; he took some part in the formulation of the Elizabethan Settlement, he helped to draft the thirty-nine articles, he signed the Advertisements, he preached frequently and was one of the most powerful supporters of the doctrine of the real presence in the 1565 dispute over that question. Both Cecil and Parker were interested in Guest's literary activities and Guest translated Psalms for the Bishops' Bible.² When he died as bishop of Salisbury Guest left the bulk of his estate to the poor, to his chaplain and to his servants. He bequeathed to Salisbury cathedral

'...nowe decayed, all my bookes there to be kepte for perpetuall remembrance and token of my favor and good will to advance and further the estate and dignitie of the same my churche and sea. Desyeringe and trusting that the deane and chapitor of the same churche will so order and dispose all those my saide bookes to [such] places and stalles as may be fitt for the preseruacion

1. C.P.R. Eliz., II, (1560-63), 279-80, 302. DNB., sub William Bill, Guest and Freke. Practically nothing has been written about the Elizabethan office of high almoner, but see T.F. Tout, Chapters, I, 245, 11, 48n, IV, 107, 268; G.R. Elton, Tudor Revolution (Cambridge, 1960), 357, 365, 389 and n.2; E. Skelton, 'The Court of Star Chamber In the Reign of Elizabeth' (London University M.A. thesis), I, 117-119, II, 26-27, 296-297; OED., sub 'deodand'; Jacob, Law Dictionary, sub 'almner or almoner'; APC., (1558-1570), 151.

2. DNB., STC., 11802; P.R.O.C. 66/978, m6r-m7r; cf. c. 66/946, m23r-m24r; S.P./12/6, fo. 70; C.P.R. Eliz., (1558-60), p. 5; Reg., pp. xv, 34, 53, 85-88, 118, passim; Corresp. pp. 123n, 240, 250.

and good keepinge of the same. And this in the behalfe of God I require them to do as my trust is in them therein.¹

While the interests and careers of Parker and Guest were at least somewhat parallel, the same was by no means true of Edmund Freke, archdeacon from 1571 until 1576. Freke, an ex-Austin canon who was ordained by Bonner in 1545, and attended Cambridge, had no philanthropic or literary interests. He took no part in the theological controversies of the age.

Freke's promotions came through the Queen who went so far, in her attempts to assist him, as to forego £506 8s 2-3/4d in first fruits for the deanery of Salisbury and bishopric of Rochester, requiring only the payment of £146 15s 7d in first fruits for the archdeaconry of Canterbury.² Guest, a celibate priest, left most of his valuable estate to charity and to his 'dere frendes' (Guest was also an arch-flatterer)³ the lords' treasurer, keeper, and the controller of the household. Freke, the most notable things about whom were the extravagant termagant he had for a wife and the fact he lived and died deeply in debt, left his estate to his wife and family. Wife Cicely even overrode Freke's last will: he had named his son executor; the son resigned in his mother's favour.⁴

The archdeacon's deputy in the diocese was his 'official'. With the exception of the power to put the oath of supremacy to clerics (Robert Bisshop at least was

1. PCC/1577/12 Daughtry.

2. P.R.O./E./334/8, fo. 324.

3. P.R.O./S.P./12/6, fo. 70.

4. P.C.C./1591/26 Sainberbe; DNB., P.R.O./E./334/8, fo. 324; Le Neve, *Fasti*, I, 43-44; Reg., pp. 157, 160, 162, 163, 328-31, 903, 1104, 1105, 1130, 1133, 1139, 1162-8; C.P.R. Eliz., III (1563-66), 23, 85, 366, IV (1566-1569), 27; F.B. Williams, *Index of Dedications* (London, 1562); p. 71 referring to STC., 11759 (A. Gerardus, *Pouertie*) and 14, 608 (J. Jewel, *Aduersus T. Hardingum...*).

empowered to take the oath from ecclesiastics within the archdeaconry) the duties and responsibilities of the archdeacon's official were made the same as they had been in the middle ages.¹ The official was responsible within the archdeaconry for the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline through visitations, and through the archdeacon's court. He was responsible, within the archdeaconry, for the probate of (non-prerogative) wills, for inductions to benefices, for the hearing of 'instance' cases such as slander and defamation, for the sequestration of the fruits of vacant benefices,² and for the collection of procurations, synodals and other payments due the archdeacon. The archdeacon's court, and all of its personnel except the registrar, were under the official's control.³

The first of the archdeacon's officials was Stephen Nevinson who held the office from late 1559 until 1563.⁴ The second was Vincent Denne⁵ who served from 1564 until Robert Bisshop, LL.D., was commissioned in 1571. Bisshop held the office until 1581.⁶

1. Woodcock, pp. 19-21, 38, *passim*; Churchill, I, 49-53. Court fees (1563) probate 3s 6d; engrossing of wills and inventories 3s, absolutions 2s 6d. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./3/16, fo. 153v.

2. E.g. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./3/17, fo. 89v.

3. Cant. MS./Reg. V¹, fos. 68v, 68, 60v (in that order) has much of Guest's commission to Vincent Denne. Cant. MS./Reg. V³, fos. 14v-15v and Maidstone MS./P.R.C./3/17, fo. 29 have Guest's 1571 commission to Bisshop. I have not found Guest's commission to Nevinson. The registrars, with occasional substitutions, were Thomas Percy, notary public, 1561-1563 (Will: Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/35, fo. 155), Robert Whythorne, 1564-1566, and Thomas Cranmer, 1566-1604 (Will: Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/39, fos. 216v-217v), John Edwards sometimes deputized for Cranmer. Maidstone MSS/P.R.C./3/16, fo. 1; /P.R.C./3/17, fos. 1, 29, 115v, 153v; /P.R.C./3/18, fo. 111v.

4. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./3/15, fo. 146 (10 December, 1559) where the transaction of probate business is recorded.

5. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./3/17, fo. 29; Cant. MS./Reg. V³, fo. 15. Richard Beseley substituted for Denne in 1570. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./3/18, fo. 117.

6. Contrast Maidstone MS./P.R.C./3.20, fo. 211 with *ibid.*, fo. 224.

Guest commissioned all three of these men. Their appointments were confirmed by the archbishop and ratified by the dean and chapter.¹ Parker would probably have approved of the men Guest chose: both Nevinson and Denne were serving, during approximately the same periods that they were, successively, the archdeacon's official, as the archbishop's own commissary general. Nevinson also served the archbishop in extra-diocesan work such as the visitation of Norwich cathedral. Though Robert Bisshop does not seem to have been as closely associated with Parker as had been his (Bisshop's) two predecessors, yet Bisshop's efficiency and conscientiousness, revealed by the archdiaconal records, would have satisfied Parker.

(iv) HIGH COMMISSIONERS IN THE DIOCESE OF CANTERBURY.

The Queen's Majesty's commissioners in causes ecclesiastical (the high commissioners²) had been commissioned in 1559 and had operated in London from then on.³ The commission issued in 1559, and those issued in 1562⁴ and 1570⁵ (the terms of which Parker helped in draft and some of the members of which he had selected) affected the diocese, but the commission of 1572⁶ was of particular importance. The first two set up the high commission for all England. The terms of the third commission are unknown. The commission of 1572 was designed, among other things, to create within several of the southern dioceses individual high^{commissions} ---local equivalents of the London high commission---which could hear local cases.

1. Cant. MS./Reg. V³, fos. 14v-15v.

2. Cant. MS./Y/2/24, fo. 86v (1562); cf. R.G. Usher, The Rise And Fall of the High Commission (OXford, 1913).

3. C.P.R. Eliz., I (1558-60), 118-19.

4. Ibid., II (1560-63), 279-80.

5. Now lost. Corresp., pp. 370-71.

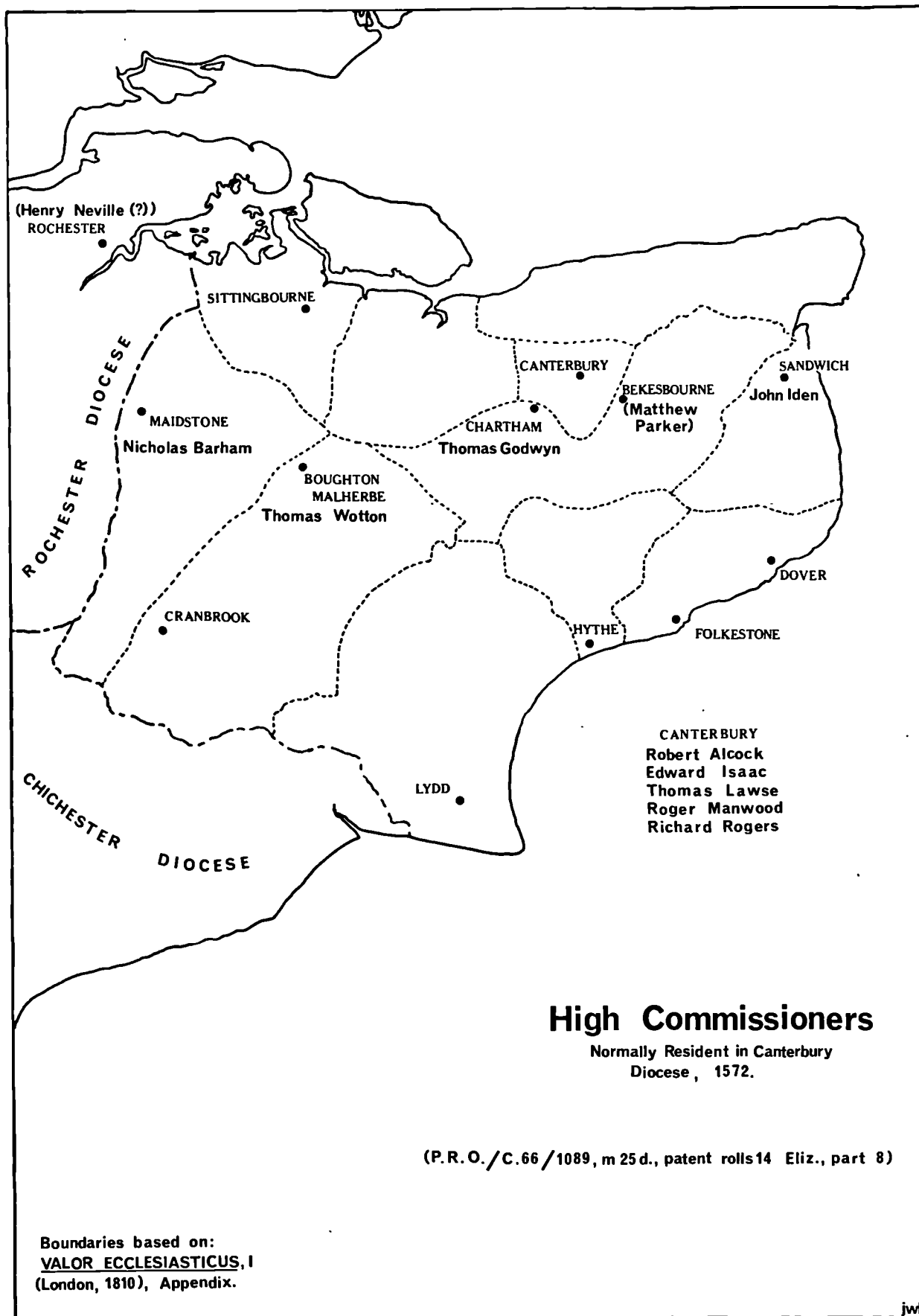
6. P.R.O./C. 66/1089, m. 25d., Pat. Rolls 14 Eliz., part 8.

The commission specifically stated, however, that its terms were not meant to be prejudicial to the jurisdiction of the high commission already operating in London but were meant rather to complement the jurisdiction of the central high commission.¹

Seventy people were on the commission of 1572, at least ten of whom, viz. Richard Rogers, Thomas Godwyn, Thomas Lawse, Roger Manwood, Thomas Wotton, Robert Alcock, Edward Isaac, Edward Boyes, John Iden and Nicholas Barham were normally resident within the diocese of Canterbury. There were other members of the commission who were sometimes in the diocese on official business. Parker himself was one. Another was Edmund Freke who, while he did not come into the diocese in his capacity as archdeacon, would have come as royal almoner and member of the Kent commission of the peace. Gilbert Gerrard, the attorney general, sometimes went on assize circuit in Kent^{and} was entertained by Parker at Canterbury on such a tour in 1565. Another was Miles Sandys who was a good friend of such Kent people as Edward Isaac² and who was given grants of ecclesiastical property in the diocese of Canterbury by Parker. If it was the Henry Neville who was also lord Abergavenny then any local high commission work done by him would have been in the diocese of

1. For the work of the high commissioners in the diocese of Canterbury see Cant. MSS./Z/3/7, fo. 37; /X/1/10, fos. 76, 78, 82; /Reg. V¹ (1553-58), fo. 58 regarding Robert Collyns. /Y/2/24, fo. 86v; /X/1/3, fo. 107v; /Y/2/24, fos. 86v, 93v; /X/1/3, fo. 107v; /X/1/11, fo. 87, 151v, 101v, 99; /X/1/10, fo. 78, 82; /Y/3/17, fos. 3, 34v, 35; /X/1/12, fo. 42; /X/8/9, fo. 94. A considerable amount of information regarding high commission fines and bonds survives for the later sixteenth century, but such information for the Parker period has not been discovered. Cf. P.R.O./E./135; /E./101; /E./114, boxes 4-11; /Ind./17055 have been checked.

2. P.C.C./1573/19 Peter.



Rochester.¹ But the connection of these men with Canterbury diocese was very limited and therefore the first ten named, that is, those who were resident within the diocese of significant lengths of time, will be our principal concern.

Except for the area in the south west and around Cranbrook, there was at least one commissioner in every part of the diocese. There was, moving from the west, Barham at Maidstone, Wotton at Boughton Malherbe, Godwyn at Chartham, Rogers, Lawse, Manwood, Alcock and Isaac in or around the city of Canterbury, John Iden at Sandwich and Edward Boyes at Dover. It would not have been too difficult to have constituted a court at any one of the major towns. Wotton was the only one of the out-of-Canterbury men who was of the quorum, but two of the commissioners could have ridden with relative ease from Canterbury to Dover, Sandwich or Boughton Malherbe, and one could have ridden with Wotton to Maidstone.

The principal training that Parker wanted the high commissioners to have was, apparently, training in the law. Only Rogers, Lawse, Freke and Godwyn were clergymen, and all of them were also civilians. Most of the others had at least some training in the common law. Thomas Wotton may have been admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1541, and Robert Alcock was a common lawyer of some importance in the city of Canterbury. Miles Sandys was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1551, became a bencher in 1578, and was treasurer from 1588 until 1595. Manwood, Barham and Gerrard are best known to history as being among the most prominent common lawyers and judges of Elizabethan England. Gerrard was associated with Gray's Inn from 1537 until at least 1555 and he was Elizabeth's

1. Cant. MS./A/c/3, Burgmote Book 1578-1602, fos. 26, 27v, 28. P.C.C./1592/ 1 Nevell, cf. Garrett, Exiles, p. 235 for a Henry Neville of Berkshire. Cf. The Complete Peerage, ed. V.H. Gibbs, I (London, 1910), 33-34.

attorney general. Manwood, who was sergeant-at-law by 1567, was made a puisne judge of common pleas in 1572 and lord chief baron of the exchequer in 1578. (The people of Kent knew Manwood even in Parker's day as a manipulator of the law to his own (or his client's) ends, and it was two Kent people, Richard Rogers and Thomas Digges, who eventually exposed Manwood's crooked dealings). Barham too, was an important common lawyer.¹ Though better known for his work in the trial of the duke of Norfolk, Barham, like Manwood, performed legal services for, and was recorder of, his home borough,² and in 1573 Parker and others sought Barham's advice in a dispute between the chapter and the dean of Canterbury cathedral.³ The civilians were university-trained; none of the common lawyers, even though some attended university, took a degree. Incidentally, considering the opinion of the high commission held by some Stuart common lawyers, it is interesting to find so many eminent common lawyers among those commissioned in 1572.

Except for the omission of the lord warden of the Cinque Ports, the commissioners were the leading clerics and administrators within that part of Kent comprising the diocese of Canterbury. Three were M.P.'s for ^{constituencies} ~~ridings~~ within the diocese during the time of Parker's administration. Manwood was joint member for Sandwich in at least three Elizabethan Parliaments before 1575.⁴ Barham sat with Henry Fisher for Maidstone in 1562-3,⁵ the first man that

1. DNB., sub Gerrard, Manwood and Barham.

2. Records of Maidstone, ed. K.S. Martin (Maidstone, 1926), pp. 271, 14, 188, 193, 195, 196.

3. Reg., p. 921.

4. Parliaments of England, 1213-1702, Part I, Return of Members of Parliament (London, 1878), pp. 402, 407, 412.

5. Ibid., p. 404; P.R.O./E./368/347/1 (4), Communia Michaelmas 1 Eliz., rot. 111 # for letters patent incorporating the borough. See also N.M. Fuidge, 'The Personnel of the House of Commons of 1563-67' (London University M.A. thesis, 1950), part III, 3 (Alcock); part III, 221 (Barham and Manwood).

borough had ever sent to Parliament.¹ Alcock sat with William Lovelace for the city of Canterbury in the same Parliament.² Henry Neville competed for the city of Canterbury in 1578 but then withdrew ~~in a quite unique~~^{from the} city election.³

Three of the ten served as sheriff. Thomas Wotton was appointed high sheriff of Kent six days after Elizabeth came to the throne and served again in 1578. Edward Isaak was high sheriff in 1569 and Edward Boyes in 1577.⁴

Many of these men were on the Kent commission of the peace during the time of Parker's administration. Parker himself was, of course, an ex officio justice of the peace for Kent. Henry Neville,⁵ Gilbert Gerrard, Thomas Wotton, Nicholas Barham, and Roger Manwood, were all on the commission of the peace for Kent issued in 1562. Wotton was custos rotulorum.⁶ By June, 1575, Robert Alcock, Edward Boyes, and Edmund Freke were also members of the Kent commission of the peace.⁷ Manwood, Neville, Wotton and Barham, were still on the commission at this time.⁸

It was natural that Parker should have wanted the leading diocesan ecclesiastics and administrators, Rogers, Godwyn, Lawse and Freke on the commission,

1. Records of Maidstone, ed. K.S. Martin (Maidstone, 1926), pp. 189n, 224-225.
2. Return of Members of Parliament, p. 404.
3. Canterbury MS./A/C/3/'Burgmote Book, 1578-1601', fos. 26, 27v, 28.
4. List of Sheriffs for England and Wales P.R.O./L. & I. IX (London, 1898), p. 68. None of these men served as escheators for the county of Kent. 'List of Escheators for England', ed. A.C. Wood, P.R.O. Round Room 16/103B (1932), pp. 69-71.
5. In 1575 Henry Neville was serving in the lathe of Aylesford. P.R.O./S.P./12/104, fo. 13v.
6. C.P.R. Eliz., II (1560-63), 438; III (1563-66), 23; No new commission of the peace for Kent is noted in ibid., IV (1566-69).
7. P.R.O./S.P./12/93, part II (1573); /S.P./12/104, fos. 8, 8v, and 16.
8. Ibid., fos. 7-16. Cf. /S.P./12/121 and /L.D.R./A. 385.

but his connections with some of the other members are not so immediately obvious. Wotton was a student at Cambridge when Parker was master of Corpus.¹ Parker was impressed with Manwood's grammar school project---though not so won over to Manwood that he was incapable of refusing to promote one of Manwood's relatives to New Romney vicarage.² When Parker was in his diocese in 1563 he was enough impressed with Edward Boyes to recommend him for promotion to the commission of the peace---and that at a time when Boyes was out of favour with the Queen.³ What personal contacts Parker had had with Isaac, Neville, Iden, Alcock and Barham is not certain.

The Canterbury diocese commissioners were well known to one another, were connected in various ways with each other and with Kent and, some at least, were wealthy. Edward Boyes, according to Parker 'an honest, staid, gentleman',⁴ was of an important Kent protestant family one of whose members, John Parker, appointed steward of the liberties of the archbishopric in 1573.⁵ Another John was Edward's brother and both were sons of William Boyes, of Nonnington.⁶ Another member of the Boyes family, also named John, became dean of Canterbury cathedral in 1619.

Edward, the member of the high commission, had been an exile at Frankfort in 1557.⁷ He was related by marriage to Sir Francis Walsingham and his first

1. Venn, AC., I, iv, 467 (Matriculated 1549); cf. ibid., I, ii, 207 (Sandys) and I, iv, 19 (Gerrard).

2. Corresp., pp. 187-89, 192, 193, 338-9.

3. Ibid., pp. 304, 370n.

4. Corresp., p. 204.

5. Ibid., p. 452; Cant. MS./Reg. V³, fos. 39-39v.

6. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/38, fos. 46v, 48. Garrett, Exiles, p. 95 has the relationships wrong.

7. Ibid., p. 95.

wife was Peter Wentworth's sister. Boyes sought Wentworth's advice on financial arrangements for the education of a godson,¹ and his own son, also called Edward, eventually married Peter Wentworth's daughter.² In his will, an elaborate document of twelve folios, Boyes wrote of a brother Thomas, a cousin Francis Wilford, another cousin called Willson who was a preacher in Canterbury, a nephew Ower and a niece, and of his friends Thomas Nevinson and Matthew Hadds. Hadds was his ^{legal} counsel. Lady Calthrop, widow of Sir Martin Calthrop, was his second wife.

Edward Isaac was also related to important Kent people and to people of national importance. His wife, for example, was probably Sir Thomas Wrothe's daughter.³ He was a very close friend and associate of Edwin Sandys during the reign of Edward VI, and the friendship continued throughout the time of exile and until Isaac's death.⁴ Isaac was connected with the Wyatt family by marriage and, when he died in 1573, left his French and Latin books to his nephew Edward Wyatt.⁵ William and Thomas Digges of the scholarly Kent family were Isaac's cousins.⁶ So was Francis Wilford, gent.,⁷ the man whom Edward Boyes was to call his 'old friend' when he came to make his will in 1597.⁸ Wilford was a member of an armigerous Kent family⁹ and Isaac made him co-executor of his will.¹⁰ 'Mr. James Morryce', ^{possibly} ~~presumably~~ the member of Parliament who was

1. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/38, fo. 48.

2. Garrett, p. 95.

3. Garrett, pp. 195-96.

4. Ibid., pp. 195-96; P.C.C./1573/19 Peter.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/38, fos. 46v-51v.

9. *The Visitations of Kent...1574*, ed. W.B. Bannerman, II, Publications of the Harleian Society, LXXV (London, 1924), 46-47.

10. STC., 5551, 5552.

to campaign against the ex officio oath in 1593, was Isaac's nephew. Isaac, a very wealthy man, left bequests to all of these people.

Besides these relatives Isaac counted among his friends, and left bequests to, Miles Sandys, clerk of the king's bench, Roger Manwood, Robert Alcock (all members of the 1572 high commission), and Anuciante Colfe. He left money for the university 'exhibitions' of Richard Colfe, Israel Pownall (the son of a six preacher in the cathedral) and George Gosson, all of whom were of families with a reputation for some religious conviction. He also left bequests to bishop suffragan Richard Rogers, whom he made his co-executor, and to Richard Raylton. He gave Raylton (a quondam servant of Parker and prominent alderman and mayor of Canterbury) and Miles Sandys power to arbitrate in disputes which arose over his estate.¹

Thomas Wotton, who seems to have preferred a county to a national career,² was nevertheless an influential protestant. He was the nephew and heir of dean Wotton, the grandson of Anne Belknapp and the son of Sir Edward Wotton, privy councillor and treasurer of Calais.³ His first wife was the daughter of Sir John Rudstone and his second wife the daughter of Sir William Fynche.⁴ Both the Rudstones and the Fynches were prominent families in Kent.⁵ William Cromer, esq., an important protestant gentleman in the diocese of Canterbury who served on the commission of the peace and as sheriff,⁶ was Wotton's cousin. Wotton

1. STC., 1293-1299.

2. C.P.R. Eliz., II (1560-63), 23, 42, 196, 438.

3. Thomas Wotton's Letter Book, 1574-86, ed. G. Eland (London, 1960), p. xviii; DNB., sub Wotton; J. Hurstfield, EHR., LXXVII (1962), 154.

4. Wotton's Letter Book, p. xviii.

5. The Visitations of Kent, 1574, I, 10; II, 27.

6. P.R.O./L.& I./ Sheriffs, p. 69.

wrote in his will of his 'deere frende', Sir Roger Manwood¹ whom he had, upon occasion, attempted to reconcile with lord warden Cobham.² He was highly regarded by the Queen and the privy council---especially in the early years of the reign.³ He was entrusted by lord warden Cobham in May, 1559, with the task of receiving the French ambassador at Dover and with arranging for lodgings, horses and carriages for the ambassador and his entourage. Cobham himself was going to meet the party at Canterbury. When the ambassador returned home late in May Wotton again had the task of accompanying him and his party from Canterbury to Dover.⁴

Three of the most important of the literary men of the diocese during Parker's administration dedicated works to Wotton. He was one of that important group of Canterbury diocese gentlemen and noblemen to whom Thomas Becon dedicated some of his works.⁵ Then, in 1568, Edward Dering dedicated A Sparing Restraint of Many Lauishe Untruthes Which M. Doctor Harding Dothe Challenge to Wotton⁶ and in 1570 Lambarde dedicated to Wotton the third edition of his A Perambulation of Kent.⁷

Roger Manwood presents an interesting contrast to Thomas Wotton in that he was primarily a national figure though a considerable benefactor to his home county. His mother came from Norfolk and, except for his immediate family, the

1. P.C.C./1586/4 Spencer.

2. Wotton's Letter Book, pp. 43-44.

3. P. Forbes, A Full View of the Public Transactions In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, I (London, 1740), 107-108.

4. Ibid., I, 85-86, 94, 107-108.

5. S. Bailey, Becon; STC., 1710; Williams, Index of Dedications, p. 203.

6. STC., 6, 725.

7. Ibid., 15, 175.

only significant family relationship that Manwood had in Kent was that John Boyes, the M.P. and steward of the archiepiscopal liberties, was his cousin.¹ He seems, however, to have been a reasonably close friend of two important Kent people: Percival Harte, esq.,² and Robert Honywood, esq.³ At least, Manwood made these people his executors.⁴ It is also interesting to see that William Redman, then archdeacon of Canterbury and bishop of Norwich, was among the witnesses to the making of Manwood's will.⁵

But Manwood was a man of a very different character from Boyes, Isaac, or Wotton. They seem to have been men with many genuine friends and they put their families, friends and servants first in their bequests; Manwood seems to have been a man of few friends whose primary interest was the endowment of schools and alms houses which would perpetuate his name.

Nicholas Barham had a large house at Maidstone⁶ and, except when he left his wife and family during term times,⁷ was normally resident there. He was a parishioner of All Saints, Maidstone, of which he owned the impropriated tithes and, in return for the maintenance of the large window in the aisle, was permitted by the town council to build in 1570 five pews in the church for the use of himself, his family and heirs.⁸ Though he owned land in Romney Marsh, at Boxley

1. W. Boys, Sandwich (Canterbury, 1892) p. 258. See also Gresham to Cecil (1572), Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz. (1547-80), p. 441, number 24.

2. The Visitations of Kent...1547, I, 80.

3. The Visitations of Kent...1592, II, 104-105.

4. Boys, Sandwich, p. 260.

5. Ibid., p. 269.

6. P.C.C./1577/46 Daughtry.

7. Records of Maidstone, p. 66.

8. P.C.C./1577/46 Daughtry; Records..., pp. 25, 55.

and in other parts of Kent, no important local friendships are revealed in his will, and the only indication of a friendship of national importance was reference to a bowl given Barham by the earl of Leicester.¹ In this Barham was like John Iden the landlord of Sandwich² and Robert Alcock the lawyer of Canterbury: neither of them seem to have had important marriage or blood connections in the county of Kent or with people of national importance.

Limits of space simply preclude the inclusion of further details, but be it said that Manwood,³ Boyes,⁴ Wotton,⁵ Isaac⁶ and Iden⁷ were wealthy---some of them very wealthy men. Be it also said that each of them, with the exception of Iden, wrote a will the preamble and content of which reveal intense religious convictions.

(v*) VISITORS.

Canon law allowed the archbishop to visit his diocese triennially and Parker did conduct visitations either metropolitical or diocesan, or, less formally, personal visitations at least in 1560, 1563, 1566, 1569 and 1573.⁷ (Those of 1563 and 1566 may or may not have been formal visitations; Parker was in the diocese, travelling, and hearing cases, but further evidence is lacking.

1. Ibid., pp. 14, 188, 195; P.C.C./1577/46 Daughtry; DNB., The Visitation of Kent...1612-1621, ed. R. Hovenden (London, 1898), p. 161; W.B. Bannerman, op.cit., I, 1, 161; cf. P.C.C./1582/35 Tirwhite.
2. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/47, fos. 2v-5v. (ob. 1587). There was also a John Iden of Boughton Monchelsea, who died in 1585 but it is very doubtful that was the high commissioner. (P.R.C./17/45, fos. 384-5. The Visitations of Kent...1574, II, i).
3. W. Boys, Sandwich, pp. 256-269.
4. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/38, fos. 46v-51v.
5. P.C.C./1586/4 Spencer; Wotton's Letter Book.
6. P.C.C./1573/19 Peter; Garrett, pp. 195-196.
7. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/47, fos. 2v-5v, 186, 189, 191, 192, 244, 245; Reg., 643, 645, 647; Corresp., pp. 177, 183, 185, Reg., pp. 531-551, 905-936.

Perhaps they were merely court of audience cases). During the time he visited the jurisdictions of the archdiaconal official and commissary general, but not, apparently, of the high commission, were suspended. Parker usually visited the cathedral in person but delegated the work of visiting the city and diocese.

In the commission issued to Thomas Yale, Edward Leedes, Stephen Nevinson and Alexander Nowell on 11 September, 1560, Parker stated that he intended to visit the cathedral, city, diocese and province of Canterbury and that since he was unable to perform the visitation himself he commissioned them to do it. They were commissioned to visit the clergy and people. They were to punish those who had broken laws within the jurisdiction of the church, to prove wills and do all probate business which arose within the diocese during the visitation, to sequester the fruits of benefices and admit new incumbents, to hear and decide instance business, to take cognizance of contumacies, to declare and assign pensions etc. from churches, to admit those presented to benefices, to levy and collect the customary synodals and procurations, and generally to do all those things which pertained to visitors. Parker asked for certification to the effect that the work had been done, suspended the powers of the archdeacon and warned the members of the cathedral to prepare for the visitation.¹

The commission issued in 1569 gave the visitors the same powers and suspended the archdeacon's authority, but it differed in that it was only for the cathedral, city and diocese of Canterbury. It also differed in that it included a clause requiring the visitors to examine the credentials of clergymen. The visitors

1. Reg., pp. 629-30, 641-42.

were to collect procurations and synodals from impropriators and non-resident clergymen and to prosecute those who failed to pay; but all other beneficed clergymen ~~which~~ were poor or resident, and all cures unserved on account of poverty, were to be exempt from the payment of procurations and synodals.¹ The commission issued in 1573 was similar to that of 1569 except that the clauses exempting poor clergymen and poor parishes from the payment of procurations were omitted.²

In contrast to the commissaries general, the archdeacon's officials, and the high commissioners working within Kent, Parker's visitors included many of his household and central administration. In a sense, what, in the secular sphere, the judges of assize were to the justices of the peace, the archbishop's visitors were to the permanent administrative officers of the diocese. John Incent was registrar for all the visitations³ and in 1560, for example, Thomas Yale, Ll.D., and Edward Leedes, Ll.D.---the quorum of the four-man team of visitors---were joint vicars general of the archbishop, and Leedes was one of Parker's chaplains.⁴ Admittedly the other two visitors, Alexander Nowell and Stephen Nevinson, held benefices in the diocese of Canterbury at that time, but Nowell at least spent most of his time on ecclesiastical affairs at the national level and was soon to resign all benefices in the diocese of Canterbury.⁵

In 1569-70 the situation was slightly different. Parker, assisted by Yale,

1. Ibid., pp. 527-28, 577-78.

2. Reg., p. 939.

3. In 1569 Robert Whythorne deputized for Incent. Ibid., p. 579.

4. DNB., sub Leedes.

5. See biographical appendix.

visited the cathedral in person¹ and appointed for the visitation of the city and diocese and for the reformation of the detecta three people of whom two had been, or were just about to become, part of the local administration. One was Richard Rogers. In fact, when in May 1569 he had commissioned Rogers bishop suffragan, Parker had specifically stated that he had requested the crown to appoint a suffragan because, in part, of the forthcoming visitation. Thomas Lawse was another of the 1569 visitors and Parker may have appointed Lawse commissary general (1570) in part because, as a visitor, he had proven his abilities. The third of the 1569 visitors fitted the general pattern, however, in spite of his tenure of Canterbury benefices Andrew Peerson was, first of all, Parker's most important domestic chaplain and a member of his household.

In 1573 Parker commissioned six visitors---the largest number ever---and, with the single exception of suffragan Rogers, they were primarily national rather than local figures. Andrew Peerson, John Bungey and John Cook² were, first and foremost, chaplains to the archbishop. Bartholomew Clerk, Ll.D., had been given a room by Parker in 1572 and in May, 1573, Parker had commissioned him dean of the arches.³ George Ackworth, Ll.D., had become a member⁴ of Parker's household around 1570.

In summary, none of the eleven men who we know served as visitors in 1560, 1569, or 1573, were common lawyers. On each of the commissions, however,

1. Reg., p. 542.

2. Reg., pp. 212, 329, 1057; Venn, AC., I, i, 384.

3. DNB., sub Clerke.

4. DNB., sub Ackworth.

Parker put at least one civilian and six of the eleven visitors, viz. Yale,¹ Leedes,² Nevinson,³ Lawse⁴, Clerke,⁵ and Ackworth,⁶ were civil lawyers. All six were or became doctors of the civil law and some of them were among the most eminent civilians in the land.

Of the eleven, Ackworth, Bungey, Clerke, Cook, Lawse, Leedes, Nevinson, Peerson, Rogers and Yale had been students at Cambridge.⁷ Only Alexander Nowell was an Oxonian.⁸ In addition, at least six of the visitors were men of literary talent or pretensions. Nowell was the author of catechisms,⁹ and Leedes was the ~~founder~~ ^{benefactor} of Emmanuel College.¹⁰ Yale was the benefactor and relative of the great-grandfather of the merchant benefactor of Yale College.¹¹ Ackworth was literary assistant to Parker¹² and Peerson's Hebrew scholarship was employed by Parker in the production of the Bishops' Bible.¹³ Clerke was a lecturer in rhetoric; the translator of Castiglione's Courtier, was a Kent antiquary and a competitor for the post of Latin secretary to the Queen.¹⁴

1. Reg., pp. xxii, 230-232, 332, 375, 1058; J. Strype, Parker, II (Oxford, 1821), 26; DNB., sub Yale; L.J. (1509-1547), 604, 605, 616, 641, 657, 658, 699, 710, 743; cf. V.F. Snow, 'Proctorial Representation and Conciliar Management during the Reign of Henry VIII', The Historical Journal, IX (1966), 1-26. P.C.C./1578/16 Langley.
2. Reg., pp. 6, 40, 42, 54, 57, 67, 71, 75; DNB., sub Leedes; P.R.O./S.P./12/7, fo. 56; P.C.C./1589/39 Leicester.
3. Below pp. 384-86.
4. Below pp. 368-69.
5. DNB., sub Clerke; S. Dewes, Journal, p. 171 regarding usury; P.C.C./1389/21 Drury.
6. DNB., sub Ackworth.
7. Venn, AC., I, i, 4 (Ackworth); I, i, 254 (Bungey); I, i, 384 (John Cook, S.T.B); I, iii, 52 (Lawse); I, iii, 68 (Leedes); I, iii, 245 (Nevinson); I, iii, 330 (Peerson); I, iii, 479 (Rogers); I, iv, 486 (Yale); cf. on Bungey, P.R.O./Req. 2 /90/18 and S.P./12/60, fo. 207.
8. Foster, AO., I, iii, 1081.
9. STC., 18, 701A-18, 711C; 18, 712-18, 743; DNB., below pp.
10. P.C.C./1589/39 Leicester; Grace Book A...of Cambridge, 1542-1589, ed. J. Venn (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 158, 189, 199; DNB.
11. DNB., STC., 99.
12. STC., 99; DNB.
13. DNB., Reg., p. 80; The Seconde Parte of a Register, ed. A. Peel, I (Cambridge, 1915), 87-90; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/37, fos. 201v-202v.
14. DNB; STC., 5, 407; P.C.C./1589/21 Drury.

CHAPTER III

ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.

The maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline was one of the largest tasks connected with Elizabethan episcopal administration. This was true at least of Parker's administration of Canterbury. Though Parker, of course, disagreed with the puritans about many things, he was in essential agreement with the admonitionist who wrote in 1571 that 'ecclesiastical discipline...consisteth in admonition and correction of faults severlie.'¹ The returns of Parker's own visitations and the records of his diocesan and central courts show how determined he was to prevent, or to punish for, breaches of the laws of the church (including those laws which had statutory backing) and breaches of the laws of God.

Ecclesiastical discipline was a matter of considerable discussion and controversy in Tudor England. From at least 1543 onwards many schemes for reform of the system of ecclesiastical discipline were put forward by 'puritans' such as John Bale and William Turner.² But these early radicals, and such Elizabethan revolutionaries as Thomas Cartwright, were not the only ones interested in rendering

1. 'An Admonition to the Parliament', Puritan Manifestos, ed. W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas (London, 1954 reprint), p. 9. Cf. ibid., p. 19 and Records of the Kirk Session of Aberdeen, ed. J. Stuart (Aberdeen, 1846) p. 12, and The Council Register of Aberdeen (1398-1570), ed. J..Stuart (Aberdeen, 1844), p. 352.

2. STC. 24353, The Huntyng of the Romish Foxe; cf. P. Collinson, 'The Puritan Classical Movement In the Reign of Elizabeth I' (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1957), p. 79. STC. does not note Bale's co-operation in The Huntyng.... On Tudor ecclesiastical reform projects see Collinson, pp. 87ff, 214ff, passim; M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism (Chicago, 1939), pp. 92-94, 100-101, 113-114, 175, 254-55, 285, 294, passim; and A.F.S. Pearson, Thomas Cartwright (Cambridge, 1925), p. 441.

ecclesiastical discipline more effective. Henry VIII was mildly interested in,¹ and the Edwardian government took positive steps to bring about, the reformation of the canon law.² Although Elizabeth frustrated most of their efforts, both her bishops and the house of commons were interested in reforming the canon law and the ecclesiastical administrative machinery. Parker's own 'Advertisements', for which he tried in vain to get the Queen's written sanction in order to give them the force of law, were concerned with one phase of ecclesiastical discipline.³ Parker had been on the thirty-two member commission of 12 February, 1552 which produced much of what survives in the book now entitled Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.⁴ Although some of the ideas in that particular book were too radical for Parker to support its official adoption when the matter was raised in parliament in 1571,⁵ it should not be forgotten that same year Parker obtained the Queen's approval for

1. Cf. 25 Hen. VIII, c. 19; 27 Hen. VIII, c. 15; and 25 Hen. VIII, c. 16 in SR., III, 460, 548, 976.

2. The Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws, ed. E. Cardwell (Oxford, 1850), pp. iii-xvi.

3. Visitation Articles and Injunction..., ed. W.H. Frere, III 1559-1575 (London, 1910), 171-80; Corresp., pp. 234, 272.

4. Cardwell, op. cit. Much of this book was written by archbishop Cranmer and Peter Martyr by virtue of commissions issued to them and others, including Parker, on November 4th and 11th, 1551, and 12th February, 1552. The Parliament of 1549 had passed a statute providing for the creation of such a commission. C.P.R. Edward VI, (1550-1553) 14, 354.

5. J.E. Neale, Parliaments, I (London, 1953), 63, 89, 194, 195, 197. The content of the book supports Neale's idea that Parker would have been opposed to its eucharistic teachings (Cardwell, op. cit., p. 19), but that should not obscure the fact of its authorship, that Parker was on the original commission which produced it, that Walter Haddon, one of Parker's friends and commissary (on Parker's patronage) of the prerogative court of Canterbury, translated it into Latin, that Parker himself may have written parts of it which are not in the Cranmer MS., that John Foxe published it with Parker's approval and from a MS. in Parker's possession, and that Parker was a consistent patron of the printer of the book, John Daye. DNB., sub Haddon and Daye; Corresp., pp. 46, 218; Cant. MS./Reg. V¹ (1553-58), loose folio regarding Haddon.

the canons of 1571.¹ Other reform projects had been put forward by bishops Sandys, Alley, Grindal and some of the lower house in the convocation of 1563, and each parliament since the beginning of the reign had seen its reform programme. Many in both houses of convocation and in the house of commons were intent upon carrying the changes in church discipline at least as far as they had proceeded under Edward VI.²

In spite of the desire for reform, however, the existing system of ecclesiastical discipline was not moribund. Although the vigour and honesty of individual bishops and their officers³ seem to have been the factors which determined the efficiency of the system in any specific area, in general the system may have been at its peak of involvement and efficiency during the early years of Elizabeth's reign. Brian Woodcock in his pioneer study of the medieval ecclesiastical courts in the diocese of Canterbury discovered that from around 1490 to 1535 there was a rapid decline in the business of the diocesan courts,⁴ but with the coming of the Reformation, as Woodcock's work indicated and as the manuscripts in Canterbury cathedral reveal, there was a distinct upswing in the volume of business in the diocesan courts. Moreover, the records of considerably more litigation in the

1. Synodalia, ed. E. Cardwell, I (Oxford, 1852), 111-131.

2. R.W. Dixon, History of the Church of England, V (Oxford, 1902), 384-391. Neale, Parliaments, I, 63, 89, passim.

3. Probably on account of a corrupt chancellor (who had, incidentally, been appointed by Parker) the situation in Elizabethan Gloucester was a definite exception. Partly because chancellor Powell welcomed the money he made from commuted penances, only thirteen or fourteen people out of 300 or 400 charged with offences of a sexual nature over a 3 year period did open penance. F.D. Price, 'An Elizabethan Church Official---Thomas Powell, Chancellor of Gloucester Diocese', CQR, CXXVIII (1939), 94-112, especially 109.

4. B.L. Woodcock, Medieval Ecclesiastical Courts In The Diocese of Canterbury (Oxford, 1952), especially the chart at p. 84.

archdiaconal and consistory courts of Canterbury survive for the early Elizabethan period than for comparable Henrician and Edwardian periods.¹ Lists of extant ecclesiastical court and visitation records from some other dioceses in the province of Canterbury also show an upswing in the volume of such material with the coming of the Reformation, and the trend becomes more noticeable with the opening of the Elizabethan period.²

Definite institutional arrangements were employed for the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline.³ In a fashion typical of the Tudors, the institutional arrangements, 'purified' by Henrician and later changes, had been inherited from the middle ages. They were of an aristocratic nature---that is, discipline was maintained from above and outside of the parish through a system of courts and under the control of the bishop. Those who wanted a more democratic system of

1. One must take into account the high mortality of medieval records, the fuller depositions in Elizabethan cases, and the fact that not all of the material in Parkerian court books is of Parkerian vintage. Even without counting actual cases, however, the increase in the volume of litigation is still recognizable: there are, not including probate records at Maidstone, approximately 300 surviving ecclesiastical court act books for the diocese of Canterbury. Approximately 40 of these are for the pre-Reformation period. For the 17 years of Parker's administration there are 51 books---25 volumes of consistory and 26 of archdiaconal court records.

2. Gibbons, Ely Episcopal Records (Lincoln, 1891), 79-91, 35-47. 'Pilgrim Trust Survey of Ecclesiastical Archives' (Typescript, 1947), II, i, Bath and Wells, 7-8; Exeter, 11-12; Hereford, 8-9; Lichfield, 7-8; Lincoln, 10-11; III, ii, Winchester 10. In four other dioceses, practically the only surviving disciplinary records begin after 1535: Ibid., III, ii, London, 12-13; Norwich, 8-9; Rochester, 6-7; Salisbury, 7-9; Worcester, 6-7. Destruction may account for the complete absence in these latter five dioceses of disciplinary records; I know, however, of no set policy of destroying these records the way there was of destroying the Latin service books. See especially R.W. Dunning, 'The Wells Consistory Court In The Fifteenth Century', Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society CVI (1962), 46-61.

3. See F. Makower, The...Constitution of the Church of England (London, 1895); R. Burn, Ecclesiastical Law, 4 vols. (London, 1797); S.L. Ware, The Elizabethan Parish... (Baltimore, 1908), etc.

control from within the parish found the aristocratic disciplinary arrangement one of the most galling of the 'dregs of popery'. In this chapter the nature of this system in Parker's Canterbury will be described and its efficiency evaluated.

The differences of opinion between the supporters of episcopacy and those who wanted a more 'godly' discipline should not obscure from us that under the episcopal system a very considerable part of the disciplinary and administrative burden was locally carried. The individual Canterbury parishioners took seriously their responsibility to 'tell to the church' anything they found amiss. They might also save from punishment at the hands of the ecclesiastical courts a parishioner who had reformed himself.¹ Churchwardens and sidesmen might themselves sit as a court to judge a local case.²

Part of the duty of the clergyman was to correct one of his parishioners if he felt the parishioner needed such correction.³ Then too, the judges of the ecclesiastical courts quite frequently commissioned the outstanding local clergyman---apparently not necessarily the rural dean---to receive someone's compurgation⁴

1. Cant. MS./X/1/8, fo. 155v, sub Appledore. 'presented' the
2. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 151, sub Rolvynden. The officials then / girl to the ecclesiastical court. For a case in which a defendant had herself confessed her fault to the parish authorities, see Cant. MS./X/1/8, fo. 1, sub Biddenden. Vestry minutes do not survive for the diocese of Canterbury of the Parkerian period. C.E. Woodruff, Records In The Diocese of Canterbury (Canterbury, 1922).
3. Gibson, Prayer Book, p. 377. These prefaces to the communion service remain unchanged in the Elizabethan Prayer Book.
4. Compurgators were to swear, Parker thought, to their belief in the innocence, not their belief in the word, of the accused. J. Strype, Parker, 11, 37-38.

or even, especially if the defendant were poor or ill, to determine an entire case.¹ Moreover, annually at the archdeacon's visitation one from among the resident clergy of each of the eleven deaneries was elected rural dean.² The documented history of the rural deans within the diocese of Canterbury goes back at least as far as 1174,³ but their duties under Parker do not seem to have been onerous or spectacular. There are occasional hints of the clergy disciplining one another,⁴ but we have no positive evidence of rural diaconal 'synods' analogous to the sessions of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, or of other formal sessions for disciplinary action. Aside from the loss of records, the probable reasons why there remains little trace of the activities of these deans are, first, the vigorous activities of the archdiaconal and consistory courts which, under Parker, swallowed all the business they could find and, secondly, the industriousness of the apparitors of both courts. Under Parker the apparitors operated to some extent within the boundaries of the rural deaneries,⁵ ^{and} did some work which, at least for a time in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, had been done by the rural deans of Canterbury diocese.⁶

Thus, the ordinary parishioners, the clergy, and perhaps the rural deans, all had a part in the enforcement of discipline within the Canterbury parishes. Even

1. E.g. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fos. 103, 103v sub Whitstable. Ibid., fo. 145, sub Bethersden. Poor people often had to pay no court fees regardless of whether or they were acquitted or convicted.

2. E.g. Cant. MS./Z/3/9, passim.

3. I. Churchill, Canterbury Administration (London, 1933), 44, 82. A 'rural deanery'---for example, the deaneries of Parker's peculiars of Bocking and South Malling, could be great offices. They were similar only in name to the rural deaneries of Canterbury. There is some controversy over the history of rural deans in England. W. Dansey, Horae Decanicae Rurales, 2 vols. (London, 1835). Cf. Collinson, I, 231-235.

4. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 158, regarding vicar Sowthousand.

5. Cant. MS./X/10/15, fo. 13 regarding William Cole. Above, pp. 66-68.

6. Woodcock, 17, 17n3, 45, 50. Cf. F.D. Price, 'Elizabethan Apparitors In the Diocese of Gloucester', CQR. CXXXIV (1942), 37-55.

the parish clerk, though his main task was to keep the parish records, might take part in discipline.¹ But by far the most important people were the churchwardens, 'those non-commissioned officers in the army of the new Divine Right of Kings'.² They were, in co-operation with the sidesmen, the ones upon whom, to a considerable extent, the success or failure of episcopal disciplinary policies depended.

The sidesmen within the diocese of Canterbury under Parker were distinct from and inferior to the churchwardens.³ They did not have, for example, the stewardship of church properties as did the churchwardens.⁴ Though scribes usually described a churchwarden as a 'parochianus', at least one scribe wrote of churchwardens as 'inquisitores'.⁵ and that name, in fact, reveals what was the essential nature of their office: the investigating, correcting, and reporting to the appropriate authority of all such things as were found amiss within the parish.

The nature of their office rendered the sidesmen particularly vulnerable to the wrath of people who disagreed with some aspect of the Elizabethan ecclesiastical policy. For example, it was said in 1561 that one Robert Holmes of Westgate, Canterbury, did not come to church and that 'he hurled a pott and drewe hys dagger

1. Kennedy, I, cxlii-cxliv and The Clerk's Book of 1549, ed. J.W. Legg, (London, 1903) describe the duties of the parish clerk. Richard Sherelie the 'common clerk' of Birchington was a graduate of Oxford and kept a book recording the terms of office of the churchwardens and other parish matters. He wrote Latin. Cant. MS./X/10/17, fo. 167.

2. Kennedy, I, cxxxi. Evidence from Canterbury diocese substantiates the admirable portrait drawn by Kennedy of the churchwardens' duties. Hence, no attempt is made here to cover the same material, but merely to evaluate the effectiveness of the churchwardens' activities under Parker.

3. This apparently was not the case in all parts of England or at a later date. W.P.M. Kennedy discussed churchwardens and sidesmen as one, even though he was aware that there was a difference. Episcopal Administration, I, cxxx-cxl. When Burm wrote of the sidesman in the late seventeenth century, he wrote of a defunct institution. Ecclesiastical Law, I, 398-399.

4. The churchwardens had to account to their successors for the goods of the church. I have found no case in the ecclesiastical court records where this was so of sidesmen.

5. Cant. MSS./X/8/7, fos. 1-12; /Y/3/17, fo. 38v.

at one of the syde men that spoke to hym to come to the churche'.¹ Being called 'knaves and villaynes',² being threatened with having one's brains dashed out, and being told to go shake one's ears³ were among the indignities sidesmen had to suffer.

The churchwardens and sidesmen were annually elected by the clergymen and parishioners. There was an equal number of each, varying from one for tiny Eastwell⁴ to four for huge parishes like All Saints, Maidstone,⁵ but the usual number was two of each. Acceptance of the office was practically obligatory.⁶ Moreover there seems to have been no way in which churchwardens could shorten their term, though one instance has been located in which an ecclesiastical judge dismissed the churchwardens from their office on account of their negligence.⁷ Thus, although one person might ^{be}re-elected as churchwarden for four or five years,⁸ and another might move up from being sidesman one year to churchwarden the next, there were usually four new men every year in charge of the goods and discipline of each parish.

1. Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 9.
2. Ibid., fo. 2v, sub St. Dunstan's.
3. A.C., XXIX (1911), 289 sub Birchington. See also Cant. MS./Z/4/12, fo. 37v, sub Hythe for a case in which the jurisdiction of the sidesmen was challenged.
4. Cant. MS./X/3/10, i, fo. 37v. See also Capel-le-Ferne and Birchington. Ibid., fos. 14, 27.
5. Ibid., fo. 12. The distinction between the 'vicar's warden' and the 'peoples' warden' does not appear in the extant records for the period and area under consideration.
6. Burn, I, 399-400 lists those exempt from the office of churchwardenship. In 1574 one John Allen of Herne appeared before the visiting commissary general and asked to be excused from the office of sidesman (Inquisitoris) because he was already a collector for the poor. The judge granted this but required him to take the oath as if he were serving as a sidesman. Cant. MS./X/8/7, fo. 8.
7. Cant. MS./Z/3/11, fo. 22; A.C. XXIX (1911), 292.
8. E.g. Thomas Allard of Milstead who probably wanted the use of the church goods. Cant. MS./X/1/8, fo. 171.

Thus, within the period of Parker's administration 60 householders in the average Canterbury parish would have served either as churchwardens or sidesmen or both.¹ Most of the adult males, not excluding the most important,² in the average-sized parish would have had the responsibility and opportunity to take a direct part in local ecclesiastical administration and, more particularly, would have had to give evidence under oath before an ecclesiastical visitor about the state of affairs within the parish.

Unless a man had a grudge,³ a scheme for keeping some of the church's funds,⁴ or, on the other hand, a genuine desire to see effective discipline within his parish,⁵ churchwardenship could be a thankless task. Canterbury parishioners sometimes complained about the laxity of churchwardens.⁶ At other times there were complaints about them being too busy. Sometimes they complained that the churchwardens were perjured⁷ and sometimes the churchwardens could not agree among themselves.⁸ Bishop Carteys complained that the powerful within his diocese of Chichester brought great pressures to bear upon the churchwardens,⁹ similarly in

1. If there were two different sidesmen and two different churchwardens in each of the 15 years of Parker's administration it would make a total of 60.
2. E.g. John Ugden and others of St. Alphage in 1560 (Cant. MS./Y/2/20, fo. 45).
3. Perhaps this is the explanation of the debate between the churchwardens and James Broker of Woodnesborough. Cant. MS./X/1/12, fo. 66.
4. There were many cases in which one year's churchwardens had trouble in getting their predecessors to account. Vincent Nethersole and others of his family were particularly adept at avoiding making their account. E.g. Cant. MS./1/7, fos. 130-132, sub Ewell; Cant. MS./X/1/8, fo. 154v, sub Ewell; Cant. MS./X/1/10, fo. 37 sub Tilmanstone and Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 53 sub Tilmanstone. Cf. C. J. Sissons, The Judicious Marriage of Mr. Hooker (Cambridge, 1940).
5. For examples, see Cant. MS./X/1/11, fos. 133-133v sub Preston-next-Faversham.
6. Cant. MS./X/10/17, fos. 160-161v.
7. Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 64v sub Great Chart.
8. Cant. MS./Z/3/17, fo. 67v.
9. R.B. Manning, 'Catholics and Local Office Holding in Elizabethan Sussex', Bul. I.H.R. XXXV (1962), 49.

Canterbury in 1561 alderman Edward Carpenter complained that the churchwardens were too conscientious. He said that the churchwardens were not bound by their oaths--- that they no more had to tell the truth to visiting ordinaries than they told the truth at inquests (an interesting side light).¹

Intimidation of churchwardens was particularly evident when Parker's officers were trying to implement a controversial policy such as taking down all rood lofts in the diocese by November 25, 1561. The churchwardens from at least five² parishes had some trouble over the taking down of the rood lofts, and pressures of the sort these men faced are revealed by what in 1561 the visiting archdeacon's official was told about one Richard Grotely of Throwleigh. Grotely was, the parish officials said,

'...warned by name by Mr. Sands and the most parte of the auntyents of the parishe to be at the pulling downe of the rode lofte as well as other[s] for that he was an accuser in Quene Mary's tyme. Thys Grotely [sic], thus admonyshed, did not only stubbornly absent hym self, [but also] spake theis woords of Robert Upton being church warden he cawse he [had] said that the rode loft must [come] downe: "Lett hym take hede that his aucthoryte be good before yt be puld downe, for we know what we have had but we know not what we shall have"... [Grotely also said to] George Overy of Throwleigh "I will see the Quene's brode seale or [i.e., ere] I have yt downe."³

Speedy and effective corrective measures were taken on the spot against Grotely as against people who uttered similar sentiments in other parishes;⁴ but if the

1. Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 3v.

2. Cant. MS./Y/2/24, fos. 86v, 93v (Ashford); Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 46v (Goudherst); Ibid., fo. 88v (Houghton); Ibid., fo. 135v (Throwley); Ibid., fo. 155v (an unnamed parish). Apparently when puritanism began to emerge as a distinct movement puritanical churchwardens sometimes perjured themselves when they disagreed with episcopal policy. 'A View of Popish Abuses', Puritan Manifestos, p. 34.

3. Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 135v. I have found no mention of Grotely in Foxe, Acts and Monuments, 8 vols. (London, 1839).

4. For example, against one Robert Colwell who was probably of Faversham since there was a churchwarden there of that name in 1558. Harpes., 331, When told at his dinner table on November 24, 1561 that the rood loft had been taken down, Colwell remarked: 'Lett them take hede that they pull not downe more this year then peradventure they shall set up againe the next yeer'. It was also said of Colwell and one Thomas Belke, 'who were diligent quyer men in Quene Mary's dayes', that they would not come at all 'now synce Quene Elizabeth hath borne atoryty'. Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 155v.

local authorities found themselves too weak to support the actions of the churchwardens they did not hesitate to enlist more powerful help. On June 8, 1562, six months after the deadline for tearing down the rood lofts, John Ever and Robert Mellal, the churchwardens of Ashford, said that they dared not take down the rood loft because their 'betters' said they should not. The archdeacon's official there upon ordered them to appear before the archbishop or 'aliis supremis commissariis Reginae Londinio' at their forthcoming court day. In September the churchwardens certified to the archdeacon's official that the rood loft was down and thereupon the case was closed.¹

Though no evidence has been found of appropriated or rented pews such as helped to pay the clergyman's wages and were such a scandal by the early nineteenth century,² seating of people in their parish church also, very occasionally, aroused resistance to the churchwardens of Canterbury diocese. Where one sat in church was supposedly determined by a parishioner's social status and at least one woman, the wife of Henry Cryppyn of St. Mildred's, Canterbury, wanted people of a higher social status than the churchwardens ('our betters', as the wardens put it) to determine where she would sit.³ However there were occasional cases in which the motive for wanting to sit in a more exalted place was deafness. William Boughton of Ash, for example, refused to be moved from 'his old accustomed place whiche he used this xij yeres past because it is nye to the dyvine service' which, because of his deafness, he could not hear if moved farther away.⁴

Attempts on the part of the churchwardens to discipline their clergyman exposed

1. Cant. MS./Y/2/24, fos. 86v, 93v.

2. G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England (London, 1962), pp. 167-69.

3. Cant. MSS./X/1/10, fo. 86; /X/1/12, fo. 89 (1571). Record has been found of less than ten such quarrels in Canterbury diocese under Parker.

4. Cant. MS./Z/3/17, fo. 62v (1574). Cf. W.J. Pressey, 'Some Seating Experiences In Essex Churches (During Elizabethan and Stewart Times)', Essex Review, XXXV (Jan. 1926), 1-11; for the eighteenth century cf. P.R.O./DEL. 2/1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

them to the hazards of vilification from the pulpit. For example, in 1571 the churchwardens of East Sutton chapel complained that their vicar, Robert Welles, seldom said service on Wednesdays and Fridays, and that he seldom began the service on Sundays and holydays until 10:00 a.m. so that it was almost 12:00 noon before the service was finished. Moreover, said the churchwardens, most Sundays when he did come in person,

'...he dothe use suche unreasonable tearmes and tauntes againste the parishioners with such brawlinge wordes as are not meete nor comely for any minister so to doe in the pulpett, and only for his owne pryvate matters. Wherefore, we crave that we may, yf he have pryvate matters againste any of the parishioners, that he may either speake unto them before servyce or after servyce and not to quarrell in the servyce tyme as he doth commonlye use to doe...We are very lothe to present anythinge against our vicar because dyvers tymes heretofore there hath bene matter presented againste him and no reformation for the same. Thereupon he hath sayde openlye in the pulpett that they were periured and falsely forsworne for that they presented againste him'.

Whatever earlier troubles they may have had, on this occasion the churchwardens succeeded in getting prompt court action.¹ Churchwardens were not, however, always so fortunate. In 1574 the curate of Harty told the visiting official:

'Humphrey Carden dyd counsell the churche wardenes of Hartye that they should put in no byll of presentment concerninge the redresse of thinges amysse, but that they should informe all thinges to be well, contrary to their othes, and dyd threaten them that if they dyd presente any thinges amys that they dyd it of malyce which is an untrithe....Moreover, [Carden] is a busye bodye & a disturber of his neighbors nor hathe not receyved the Communion accordinge to the Quene's Iniunctyons.'

Carden, however, was acquitted on the evidence of two parishioners who said that the curate had laid the charges out of ill will. It is, of course, possible that Carden was in fact acquitted because of his influence in the parish.²

1. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 96. Wells was vicar of Sutton Valence with the chapel of East Sutton from 24 April, 1568, to his death sometime before 5 Sept., 1572. His patrons were the dean and chapter of Rochester. Reg., 837, 1103. Since he died so soon after the court order given on 10 Jan., 1572, it is not certain whether or not he obeyed the commands to serve East Sutton according to law, to see that service was done of Wednesdays and Fridays, and to reform himself in the future.

2. Cant. MS./X/1/12, fo. 89.

Thus, pressures most certainly were brought to bear upon the churchwardens of Canterbury diocese. Such intimidation (and the silencing which, by its very nature, left no trace in the records) should not, however, lead one to believe that the churchwardens and sidesmen were mere ciphers of the local magnates and gentry. The uncompromising nature of the oath which they had to take¹ and the awe-inspiring presence of the be-ruffed and be-robed ecclesiastical judges² must have helped to off-set many of the local pressures.

The churchwardens could not have been as effective if they had not been answering the questions of honest and efficient judges. If a lazy judge were in charge of an ecclesiastical court, as had been the situation in Canterbury under Cranmer,³ or if a minor official like the registrar sat as pro temp judge (as happened in the archdiaconal court in 1571)⁴ the effectiveness of discipline dropped off at once. Corruption on the part of a judge (as in Gloucester)⁵ would neutralize the system,

1. Cf. Reg. 537. In Stephen Nevinson's Precedents Book there is a remarkable definition of 'The Dawnger of an Othe' which, among other things, made it clear to whomever swore an oath in the ecclesiastical courts that perjury and eternal damnation were inextricably linked to gether. Cant. MS./Z/3/24, fos. 28v-29. Not in William West, Symbolaeographia (London, 1590) B.M. 514 a 26.

2. In St. Margaret's Church, Canterbury, where the Elizabethan consistory court most frequently sat, when not moving about on visitations, there is a reclining effigy of Sir George Newman who was commissary general of the city and diocese of Canterbury under Whitgift, Bancroft and Abbot and as such judge of the consistory court. In the effigy he has ruffs around his throat and wrists and is copiously robed. Newman was a figure of some note in the county being M.P. for Dover in 1603 and judge of the archbishop's court of audience in 1617. These offices accounted for some of the robes.

3. Sister Mary Justine Peter, 'The Administration of the Henrician Act of Supremacy in Canterbury Diocese' (Loyola University Ph.D. thesis, 1959) regarding ~~Vincent~~ ^{Christopher} Nevinson.

4. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fos. 1-55v. . .

5. Price, op.cit.

but, though there were occasional complaints,¹ there was no evidence of large-scale corruption in the Canterbury ecclesiastical courts under Parker. The judges of the consistory court were honest and hard-working and the archdiaconal court handled even more business than the consistory court. The industry of the court personnel² indicates a relatively efficient rather than a corrupt court system, and efficiency is also indicated by the numbers of people who fled the diocese rather than face the courts.³ The returns from visitations and subsequent actions taken are, however, the most conclusive evidence we have that neither the depositions of the churchwardens nor the activities of the courts were empty formalities.

(i) VISITATIONS.

There was a royal visitation of Canterbury just before Parker became archbishop.⁴ Parker visited in person or by deputy at least four, and possibly five, times.⁵ The archdeacon's official visited once and often twice a year (except

1. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/4, fo. 12v. Cf. 'A View of Popish Abuses', *loc.cit.*, p. 34. Stephen Nevinson tried to use his legal training to swindle his brother out of a lease. Cant. MS./X/10/17, fos. 51-51v, 100, 107v-108.

2. From autumn 1568 to 4 May, 1575 eleven proctors in the consistory court were commissioned by litigants in 442 cases. Richard Wallis handled 167 of these cases, Robert Whithorne (who was styled 'Proctor General') 79, John Baker 72, John Edwards, 51 and George Piers 36. Cant. MS./Z/5/2, unfoliated.

3. Those who fled were usually charged with either witchcraft or with an offence of a sexual nature. E.g., Court vs. Elizabeth White of Warehorne, suspected witch, Cant. MS./X/1/8, fo. 153v, sub Warehorne. Court vs. Alice Spryse of Stelling, mother of a bastard, Cant. MS./X/1/7, fos. 94v-95 sub Stelling. Court vs. Mary (Agnes) Baker, pregnant single woman, Cant. MS./Z/3/11, fo. 26v; A.C., XXIX (1911), 292. When the judge found she (Baker) had fled to the diocese of Chichester he seems to have let the case drop.

4. C.G. Bayne, 'The Visitation of the Province of Canterbury, 1559', *EHR.*, XXVIII (1913), 636-677. There is additional information in Lambeth MS./Arches Muniment Book, 1554-1563, F/1a, [F/A/E4/16/6/3], fos. 182-183. Cf. S.E. Lehmberg, 'Supremacy and Vicegerency: A Re-examination', *EHR.*, LXXXI (1966), 225-235.

5. Above, p. 91.

when the archbishop was conducting a visitation) the more than 220 parishes within his jurisdiction, and the archbishop's commissary general visited the 52 or more exempt parishes at least once a year.

In the spring of 1560 Stephen Nevinson held his first visitation of 55 of the parishes exempt from the archdeacon. Nevinson began this spring 'Generale' on Saturday 27 April 156 in St. Margaret's Church, Canterbury.¹ On the following Monday he was at Sandwich, Tuesday at Dover, Thursday at New Romney, and Friday at Ashford. Then on the following Monday, May 6, he sat judicially in the consistory court place in the cathedral in order to hear instance business not connected with the visitation.² On the following day, Tuesday May 7 he completed the visitation at Faversham. Probably due in part to the conflict of loyalties which arose out of the religious revolution of 1559, churchwardens and sidesmen from only 28 of the 55 parishes appeared, and only 20 out of the 32 clergy cited actually appeared. Sometimes, however, the visitations were conducted in the city of Canterbury itself and those cited had to come from the farthest parts of the diocese.³ This was true, for example, of the archdiaconal visitation of six deaneries in December 1570⁴ and it was also true for the second of the commissary's visitations of the exempt parishes—the visitation of November 1561.⁵

By November 1561 the first archiepiscopal and the second archdiaconal visitations had done a good deal to settle some of the religious and administrative problems

1. Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fos. 1-11v. MS. badly damaged.

2. Cant. MS./Y/2/24, fo. 18.

3. The churchwardens probably had costs of transportation and lodging, as well as court costs, paid out of the parish revenues. A.C., V (1863), 72; Ibid., XV (1883), 337.

4. Cant. MS./Z/3/9, fos. 154-167.

5. Under Parker the commissary usually visited during alternate seasons: spring one year, autumn the next. In the season immediately following the visitation, he would see to the reformation of that which had been found to be amiss.

and, perhaps as a result of that, the commissary's visitation seems to have been better attended than the one of eighteen months earlier. The personnel of 64 parishes or chapels and 2 alms houses were cited.¹ Twenty-eight out of forty of the rectors, vicars and curates, both of the priors of the alms houses, and probably eleven 'readers' from the various parishes appeared. From the 66 administrative units 277 churchwardens and sidesmen were cited of whom at least 245 appeared. In the course of the visitation 122 complaints were lodged, of which 39 were of an economic and social nature, 63 were of an ecclesiastical nature, and 20 were of a moral nature.²

To take but one further consistory court example, in five sessions held at Ashford, Dover, Sandwich and Canterbury cathedral between 10 October 1574 and 10 February 1575 commissary Thomas Lawse conducted his last visitation during Parker's administration. The visitors took note of 54 parishes and chapels of which 2 were totally decayed. Of the 245 people from the 52 functioning ecclesiastical units cited to appear before the visitors, 38 out of the 46 clergymen and 172 out of the 199 churchwardens and sidesmen appeared.³

The records are very nearly complete for the diocesan aspect of Parker's 1569

1. Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fos. 12-23. Due to scribal inconsistencies and the impossibility of here mentioning all of the variations, these figures are somewhat approximate.

2. *Ibid.*, fos. 25-67v. For these categories, see the detailed examination of Parker's 1569 diocesan visitation below pp. 114-117.

3. Cant. MS./X/8/7, fos. 1-12. Again, due to scribal inconsistencies and illegibility these figures are somewhat approximate. For every well-conducted visitation the scribe drew up ahead of time a list of parishes and a list of those who ought to appear from each. In the case of the archiepiscopal visitation of 1569 the registrar of the archdeacon's court drew up the book for the parishes within his jurisdiction, and apparently the scribe of the consistory court added the data for the exempt parishes. Cant. MS./X/3/10. See the extremely useful introduction of W.J. Pressey, 'The Records of the Archdeacons of Essex and Colchester', Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, n.s., XIX (1930), 1-21.

archiepiscopal visitation.¹ Parker had originally commissioned Andrew Pearson, Richard Rogers and Thomas Lawse to visit both the cathedral and the diocese, but they seem to have visited only the diocese and to have left the cathedral to the archbishop himself.²

The visitors began their work on 27 June, 1569 in St. Alphege's church, Canterbury,³ and then they held sessions at the parish churches in Wye on July 11,⁴ Ashford on July 21 and 22,⁵ Maidstone on October 3,⁶ Faversham on October 10,⁷ and Dover on October 13.⁸ In the course of these six sessions for which we have the record, 234 of the 272 parishes and chapels, comprising $9\frac{1}{2}$ of the 11 deaneries of the diocese, were visited. From these $9\frac{1}{2}$ deaneries approximately 174 clergymen and 860 churchwardens and sidesmen---a total of 1,034 people or approximately one person out of every fifty (excepting small children) in the diocese⁹---appeared before the visitors. This means that exactly $75\frac{\text{per cent}}{\text{per cent}}$ of the 232¹⁰ clergy from these 234 parishes whose names are entered in the call books, and $85\frac{\text{per cent}}{\text{per cent}}$ of the 1,237 church-

1. This was a metropolitical visitation but, as far as the diocese of Canterbury was concerned, it was exactly analogous to the triennial visitation which every bishop had the right and duty to carry out. The history of metropolitical visitations dates from the fourth century but they did not become a fully recognized institution until the thirteenth century. J.H. Dahmus, The Metropolitical Visitations of William Courtenay Archbishop of Canterbury 1381-1396, Illinois Studies In the Social Sciences, XXXI, no. 2 (Urbana, 1950), 7.

2. Cant. MS./X/3/10. The commission entered in the Register was apparently a draft Reg., p. 527. The final commission with all names is at Lambeth MS./S.R./79/7, fos. 2-3.

3. Cant. MS./X/3/10, fos. 21-25v, at which time the deanery of Canterbury and part of Westbere were visited.

4. For Bridge deanery, ibid., fos. 29-33v.

5. For Lympne and Charing deaneries, ibid., fos. 42-end.

6. For Sutton deanery, ibid., fos. 7-12v.

7. For Sittingbourne and Ospringe deaneries, ibid., fos. 1-8v.

8. For Dover and Elham deaneries, ibid., fos. 13-18v.

9. In 1569 Parker found that there were 11,073 households and 43,097 communicants in the diocese. P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 208v.

10. This does not mean that there were exactly 232 clergymen in these 234 parishes: a few who held benefices in more than one deanery would have had to appear at the sessions for both deaneries.

wardens and sidesmen who were cited, appeared.

A detailed analysis of the visitation of the largest deanery, that of Lympe, illustrates what took place. On July 21, 131 people appeared before the visitors in the parish church of St. Mary Ashford.¹ Here, as at every session, a preacher chosen by the archbishop delivered a sermon.² Though it was not, apparently, true at every visitation, in this one of 1569 every clergyman was required to exhibit his credentials---his letters of ordination, institution, induction and admission. Procurations were collected. Twenty-nine of the 38 clergymen of the deanery appeared personally. William King and William Darrell, cathedral prebendaries who were non-resident incumbents, appeared by proxy. The fruits of the two benefices of the three clergymen who did not appear (even by proxy) were sequestered.³ Thirty-seven of the thirty-nine churchwardens named as cited appeared and swore to give evidence about whatsoever they knew to be amiss; one of the two who did not appear was reported as ill and the other one was declared by the court to be contumacious for not appearing. Of the sidesmen named as having been cited 102 appeared, 5 were excused, 2 were ill, 2 simply did not appear and apparently incurred no penalty thereby, and the performance of 5 others is in doubt.⁴

It was at sessions such as the one just described that the churchwardens and sidesmen took the oath to tell of anything they knew to be amiss in the parish, and, having been warned ahead of time by the apparitors of the archdiaconal and consistory courts to do so,⁵ turned in their written complaints---the so-called detecta

1. Cant. MS./X/3/10, fos. 42-end.

2. Lambeth MS./S.R./79/7, fos. 1, 1v, 5. The man who actually did preach here was Thomas Knell. The other men who actually preached at these sessions were: Robert Pownall, William Wood, Richard Fletcher, Simon Clarke, Andrew Pearson, and bishop suffragan Richard Rogers. Ibid., fo. 5. These were not all as Parker had arranged. All but Pearson and Rogers were preachers in Canterbury cathedral. Reg., 534.

3. Webbe, Ryvers and Rushe. Ibid., fos. 45, 45v.

4. Cant. MS./X/3/10, fos. 42-end.

5. Writs interfoliated for each deanery in Cant. MS./X/3/10.

and comperta or 'presentments'. Apparently the churchwardens and sidesmen met in their church sometime before the visitation and drew up the bill of 'presentments'.¹ Most (though not all) of these 'presentments' were answers to official articles of inquiry. If the churchwardens and sidesmen did not possess Parker's Advertisements or the various articles and injunctions which he and the crown had issued, it did not stop them from submitting their bills of detecta of things which were amiss. But lack of such statements of official policy did make it more difficult for parish officials 'orderly to make theyer byll of presentments.'²

The detecta et comperta³ produced by these parish officials at this and every other episcopal, archdiaconal and commissarial visitation within the diocese of Canterbury under Parker, further reveal that these visitations were a serious matter and that sooner or later there came into office churchwardens who told the truth. Some parishes made no reply. In what appears to be the complete report for the 1569 diocesan visitation, returns are entered for only 176 out of 272 of the parishes.⁴ However, though 14 of the 176 reported that all was well, from the remaining 162 parishes 679 complaints were lodged. These complaints fall into

1. For example, in 1565 the churchwardens of St. Mildred's, Canterbury, writing up their presentments in the church, asked the parish clerk what 'rule was kept' in the part of the parish where he lived and his reply brought a parishioner into court on a charge of adultery. Cant. MS./X/1/7, fos. 82-83.

2. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 84v (1572).

3. What the articles used by Parker's visitors in 1569 were we do not know. Those given in Cardwell, Documentary Annals I, 355-362 are mis-named. In the originals (Reg., 623-627) there is no mention of their being used within the diocese nor of their being used by the archbishop in an ordinary visitation, but it is specifically stated that they were for his metropolitical visitation. More significantly, their contents makes it clear that they were designed for use in cathedrals.

4. A. Mussey, 'Archbishop Parker's Visitation: 1569', Home Counties Magazine, V 8-16, 113-119, 208-212, 285-89; VI, 27-39; 109-114. The figures given in this section are from this transcription of the detecta and comperta of the visitation.

three rough categories, that is 276 were of an economic and social nature, 293 were of an ecclesiastical, and 110 of a moral nature. Of the 276 economic and social matters, 74 involved the upkeep of various parts of the church including the yard and properties. There were 10 complaints of churchwardens who had mismanaged the goods and money belonging to the church, or who had failed to make an account for their wardenship. There were 56 instances in which parishioners had withheld church goods, dues, 'sesses', bequests, rents and books, and 5 complaints about parishioners who had damaged or misused church property. There were 31 about persons who refused to contribute (or to contribute adequately) to the poor, one about a parishioner who withheld the money due an alms house, and six about clergymen who had failed to 'keep hospitality'. Then there was at least one complaint about the farmer of the tithes of the parsonage, three about sequestrators, one about an especially avaricious layman,¹ one about a withheld bequest for highway repairs, two dealing with testamentary matters,² and six about the 'parson'.³

Deficiencies of books and furniture were other subjects of complaint. There were 15 complaints about a lack of the Bible of the largest volume, or that it was torn, or not read. Thirty parishes complained that they lacked the Paraphrases of Erasmus. One parish lacked the royal injunctions, one the 'Table of the Ten Commandments', one a new and seven a decent communion cup,⁴ one a communion table, one a linen cloth to cover the communion table, one a surplice, one a chest for the poor and two parishes lacked all of the necessary books and furniture.

1. Ibid., V, 117, sub Wickhambreux.

2. By the terms of their commission, and because the authority of the archdiaconal and consistory courts was suspended during the period of the archbishop's visitation, Parker's visitors dealt with testamentary matters. Reg., 527. I, Churchill, Canterbury Administration, I, 144-46 et passim.

3. That is, a layman or an institution like Rochester cathedral who or which held the tithes by impropriation.

4. At Ash they used a glass (H.C. Mag. V, 117.), -and at Little Chart a tin cup (ibid., V, 287).

To turn to specifically ecclesiastical cases, 117 people were presented for failure or negligence in church attendance, for attendance at another church, for failure to take communion, or for leaving the church in the midst of the service in order to avoid listening to the sermon. There were four complaints about people playing games or musical instruments during the time of divine service, one about disturbing the service, five about innkeepers who did business or individuals who kept what was defined as 'evil rule' during the time of the service, and six about people who worked on Sundays or Saints' Days. There were various complaints about at least 55 of the clergy, plus six complaints about clergy who failed to wear proper apparel and 23 about ministration of the communion in common bread. There was one complaint about a curate who did not 'call upon fathers and mothers and masters of youth to bring them up in the fear of God',¹ one about a lack of weekday services, seven about the Queen's injunctions not being read and four about the Homilies not being read. There were two complaints about the service, and two that there was no service; two parishes complained that they were served by a layman and one parish complained that they were served by the parish clerk. Twenty-three parishes complained of having insufficient quarter sermons or none at all.

Five cases of blasphemy were reported. There was a complaint about a churchwarden, and about two schoolteachers. There were six complaints about excommunicates, eight about witchcraft or sorcery,² one about the lighting of a bonfire and

1. Ibid., V, 11.

2. Witchcraft and sorcery were matters which often concerned Parker's diocesan courts, but no record of corporal or capital punishment (by any courts) has been found. Incidentally, those convicted usually believed, as their deposition reveal, that they were possessed of occult powers. E.g. Cant. MS./X/8/5, fo. 72. Cf. Cambridge Medieval History, VIII (Cambridge, 1959), 660-687, and see the judgment of witch Walpurga Hausmännin: The Fugger News-Letters..1568-1605, first series, ed. V. von Klarwill (New York, 1925), pp. 107-14.

six about probable allegiance to Roman Catholicism.

Finally, there were 110 moral cases. These included 14 complaints of adultery, one of illegal co-habitation, five of incontinence, five of fornication, three of mistresses, eight of whoredom, three of bawdry and 11 of illegitimate children or unwed pregnant women. There were 37 marriage cases, that is, separation, unlawful marriage, failure to have the banns properly asked, and breach of promise. There was a complaint about an Ulcombe couple who failed to raise their children properly,¹ and about one individual who was described as an 'obstinate and dissipate person'. Three drunkards, one liar, 12 slanderers, scolds, defamers, carriers of tales and sowers of discord, and five guilty of other things were 'detected'.

The archbishop's visitors, Rogers, Pearson, and Lawse, heard and determined these cases until February 1570 by authority of their original commission² and then the archbishop issued a special commission to Pearson and Lawse empowering them to reform what detecta still remained.³

(ii) EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SYSTEM, PART I.

Thus, the visitations and other investigative methods of the ecclesiastical ordinaries within the diocese of Canterbury were by no means mere formalities. The majority of the disciplinary cases which came before the archdeacon's official and the commissary general came as a result of their annual or biennial

1. Ibid., VI, 110.

2. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/5, 189 folios. See also Lambeth MS./S.R./79/8 for the continuation of these cases.

3. Reg., 577-8. This commission continued the suspension of the archdiaconal visitatorial jurisdiction and reserved to the 'commissaries' (the technical name for the visitors) the right to continue to prove wills. Probably the purpose of the new commission was to give Pearson and Lawse complete authority to act without Rogers who had been the leading man on the earlier commission. One of the act books of this commission is Cant. MS./X/8/8c.

visitations.¹ For example, between May 1570 and April 1571, 263 disciplinary cases were tried before the archdiaconal court and it seems that most of these cases were first taken note of as a result of a visitation.² In the year before Parker died 261 similar disciplinary cases came before the archdiaconal court, mostly, if the diplomatic is not totally deceiving, as a result of visitatorial activity.³ By travelling around the diocese somewhat in the manner of the justices of the peace and of assize, by apparitors, by asking so many questions of the parish officials, and by holding regular sessions of the courts (as distinct from visitations) in various parts of the diocese,⁴ it was possible for Parker and his lieutenants to implement new policies and to find out what was wrong within the diocese. The question arises at once of how effective the machinery was in bringing about a reformation of things found to be amiss.⁵ A study of the use of penance, and excommunication, and of the assistance of the secular arm and the high commission tells a good deal about how effective within the diocese of Canterbury the machinery was.

In 1562, William Dodd of Chislet convicted before the archdiaconal court of causing a woman to lose her unborn child when ordered to do penance, 'demaunded the Quene's Majestie's pardon'. The judge told Dodd 'that he shall have the benefyt' of the Queen's pardon, but in the meantime he must do penance 'till God have pardoned his offence by repentance'.⁶ As this conversation indicates, the purpose of

1. The archdeacon's official was judge of the archdiaconal court and thus the findings of the archdiaconal visitors were usually lumped in together with disciplinary cases which came into the court through other channels. The same happened with the findings of the visitations of the commissary general. He was also judge of the consistory court. It must be emphasised again that both courts did a vast amount of 'instance' business also.

2. Cant. MS./X/1/10, fos. 1-103.

3. Cant. MS./X/1/12, fos. 0-115.

4. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./3/15, fos. 146, 150, 154v, 179v, 181v, 183, 186, 187, etc.

5. Cf. Medieval Handbooks of Penance, ed. J.T. McNeill and H.M. Gamer (New York, 1938, 1965).

6. Cant. MS./X/1/4, fo. 14v-16.

the penance was to assist the parishioner to repent for what he had done wrong and to be reconciled with God and his neighbours.

One of the earliest full accounts of how a penance was to be done in the diocese of Canterbury is one for 1543. Alex [ander] Best of Egerton was ordered that for three consecutive Sundays he should

'goo before the crosse in processyon without any wollen clothes, barefoote, and bare legged, barehedded and in hys shyrt, excepte he may take hys petycote, and a sheyte wrapped aboute hym with a candle of waxe of a penny in hys hande. And at the masse tyme to knele before the sacrament unto th[e] offatory of the masse and than to offer the candle unto the priestes handes. And when the priest goyth to the pulpyt the said Alex [ander] shall goo to the quere dore and upponly and also turnyng hyn hed unto the paryshyris [sic] there shall say "ffrendes whereas I have offendyd in adultery with [blank in MS.] I desyre and pray you to pray to God with me & for me etc."'¹

By Parker's time some of the ceremonial had been abandoned, though of course people usually appeared in white sheets with a wand, had a note of their crime pinned on them---for example, 'for having twoo wiffes lyving'²---, and they often had to sit in the stocks.³ In 1560 one George Shippell was ordered by the archdeacon's official 'To stande openlie in the church and to declare that he did not well in contempning the sequestration and that he was sorie therefore'.⁴ In 1567 two New Romney people convicted of adultery before the consistory court were ordered to 'stand penitently with their faces towardes the people in the parishe churche of [New Romney] on each of three following Sundays at service time ...with wandes in their handes and there declare the tenor of this theyr cryme to be conteyned in a

1. Cant. MS./X/10/2, fo. 47v.

2. Cant. MS./X/1/7, fo. 125v, sub River. The defendant was one William Redesdall.

3. In a museum at Fordwich, near Canterbury, much of the paraphernalia of penance and also the ducking stool for scolds still survives. I have not found evidence of the use of the ducking stool during Parker's administration.

4. Cant. MS./Y/2/23, fo. 66.

schedule. The minstre [is] also to read the Homely of Adultery....¹

Under Parker those guilty of serious offences usually had to do open penance in church at least three times. Sometimes the first of the penances had to be done in the cathedral, the other two in the parish church or churches with which the defendant was connected. They might also have to repeat their penance in the village market square² at a time of the day when the most people possible were likely to pass by. Occasionally the ecclesiastical judge ordered the offender to report to the mayor of his town after he had completed his penance.³

Thousands of such penances actually were done in the diocese during the time of Parker's administration.⁴ As is revealed by the content of the confessions or 'schedules',⁵ penance was far from a merely formal ceremony: the penitent had to read a detailed description of exactly what he or she had done wrong (or, if illiterate, to repeat it after the clergyman), and to plead for the forgiveness of God and his fellow-parishioners.

Forgiveness from the parishioners at least was not always forthcoming. For example, in 1568 one Valentine Sheepe admitted that immediately after 'Gregory Taylor...dyd his penaunce in Biddenden parishe church he dyd cast ij egges at

1. Cant. MS./Z/4/12, fos. 71v-74 (Tompkyn and Brinton case).

2. Consistory court vs. Joan Hammond (1574), Cant. MS./X/8/6, fo. 5v sub Stonford. In 1569 Parker's visitors ordered one Henry Stone of Hythe, convicted of incest with his wife's daughter, to go to the market place on the following Saturday 'in hys dublett bare heddyd and barelegged with a sheite and a basess beinge ronge before hym [and he] shall stande ther all the markett tyme...havinge...a paper on hys heade sett with the tytyle of "Incest"', and to do likewise on the subsequent Saturdays at Ashford and Dover. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/5, fo. 22v.

3. Cant. MS./Y/3/17, fo. 4.

4. The clergyman present at the doing of the penance usually certified to the court which had enjoined the penance if the penance had been done. Until the defendant had produced such a certificate, the case against him was not closed. The scribes of the courts recorded in the act books when the certificates were returned.

5. By chance two of these schedules have survived for the Elizabethan period---perhaps the earliest of their kind for the diocese. Cant. MSS./Y/2/24, fos. 59v-61v (Tanguede Bealike, 1561); /X/3/5, pinned next fo. 117 (Alice Gorham, 1592).

Gregory Taylor....¹

Whatever the reaction of the parishioners, however, the fact of having to do such a penance before one's closest neighbours, even if a person really were penitent, must have been excruciatingly humbling---especially for one of the local gentry who had fathered one of his maidservants' children---and people did everything possible to avoid conviction or subsequent public penance. A typical way of avoiding conviction was to ignore the citations of the court for as long as possible and then to appear and deny the charge. The defendant would then be required to produce compurgators and if he found enough people willing to swear to his innocence,² regardless of whatever evidence there was to his guilt---even a deathbed oath³---his acquittal was assured. Perhaps sometimes the groups of 3, 6, or 10 or more compurgators were naught 'but whores & witches',⁴ but it should not be forgotten that the judges could, and did, refuse to accept as compurgators those too closely related or subservient to the defendant. If, however, the person failed in compurgation it was assumed that he was guilty as charged and he would then be required to submit to the determination of the court; that is, he would have to do penance.

Once sentenced, however, there were various ways of avoiding penance. One of these was just to delay doing so for as long as possible. However, in marked contrast to the diocese of Gloucester in which actual performance of penance sank per cent to as low as 3 or 4/ of those who ought to have done so,⁵ the general impression

1. Cant. MS./X/1/9, fo. 52v, sub Biddenden. Sheepe himself was ordered to do penance for throwing the eggs.

2. See Strype, Parker, II, 37-38.

3. Court vs. Robert Lye, Cant. MS./X/1/12, fos. 102v-104, sub St. Paul's. Alice Abbey had sworne on her deathbed that Lye was the father of her bastard.

4. This is what at least one of her neighbours said about the compurgators produced by the wife of one Wytherden. Cant. MS./X/1/7, fos. 77v-80, sub Harbledown.

5. Price, op. cit.

given by the disciplinary records of the diocese of Canterbury during Parker's administration is that a majority of the people sentenced to do penance did in fact do so.

Detailed analysis of groups of cases shows that about 50/ ^{per cent} of those who ought to have done penance did so.¹ Thus, of a group of 99 presentments made to the visiting archdeacon's official in the summer of 1568,² 26 or about $\frac{1}{4}$ of them were of the kind which, upon conviction, demanded penance. There were 39 defendants in these 26 cases and from the group of 39 were 22 who ought to have done penance.³ Ten, or approximately half, of that group did penance within approximately six months of the initiation of the case and,⁴ at the end of that six month period, the other 12 stood excommunicate.

A sampling from the archbishop's visitation of 1569 also shows that about one-half of those who ought to have done penance did so, and the percentage was even higher for those convicted before the consistory court, especially when Thomas Lawse was sitting as judge.⁵ In sessions for reforming the detecta of Parker's 1569 visitation, 32 people from the deanery of Lympne were charged with offences which,

1. In the following discussion included with those who 'ought to have done penance' are both those actually sentenced to do so and those who refused to come into court. The people of the latter group are included because their obstinacy seems a fair indication of guilt.

2. Cant. MS./X/1/9, fos. 63-94v, 140v. Cant. MS./X/1/10, fo. 4v. The majority of the cases came from Charing deanery.

3. The other 17 people were either acquitted or their case was found to fall within the jurisdiction of another court or, in one case, the defendant could not be found. Space simply does not permit of a detailed discussion of the rich variation and slight differences among these cases. Because of these variations, however, this categorization is necessarily somewhat arbitrary.

4. Hore, Gylbert: Cant. MS./X/1/9, fo. 63v. Post and Ponnett: ibid., fo. 72. Egerton: ibid., fo. 81v. Eve: ibid., fo. 80v. Mount and Waller: ibid., fo. 85v. Palmer: ibid., fo. 94v. Swane: ibid., fo. 81. Cant. MS./X/1/10, fo. 4v.

5. Cant. MS./Y/3/17, fos. 1 ff.

if proven to be true, could have led to a penance of one sort or another.¹ Twelve of these people were not sentenced to do penance, by the judge. The remaining twenty were either sentenced to do penance or else failed to come into court. Twelve² of this group---slightly over one-half---did penance within about nine months. At the end of this 9 months the other eight defendants either stood excommunicate or else the case against them was undetermined.

Considering that none of the forms of coercion which were the prerogatives of the secular courts had been used or threatened, this 50 performance of sentences to do penances is quite impressive. Nonetheless, 50 of the offenders had, at least temporarily, escaped, and one of the ways in which they did so was through the commutation of their penance.

(iii) COMMUTED PENANCE.

The admonitionists complained in 1571 that an ecclesiastical judge could

'drawe back the judgement which he hath pronounced, having called upon the name of God, and that for money which is called the chaunging of penance',³

and evidence from Canterbury shows that the complaint was quite justified.⁴ If one had the money (which poor labourers and servant girls obviously did not have) commutations could be bought, though the consistory court, especially when Thomas Lawse was presiding, was not so willing that the man should get away without some penance.

The amounts of these commutations usually varied from two shillings six pence

1. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/5, fos. 23-59, 105, and 113-183. Lambeth MS./S.R./79/8, entire book and especially fos. 35v, 54v, 90. H.C. Mag. V, 12-16; 113-116.

2. Clement Squoram: Lambeth MS./S.R./78/5, fos. 51v, 114v, 137v. William Andrew: ibid., fo. 40. Harte and Tayler: ibid., fo. 43. William Robynson: ibid., fos. 45, 98. Gybbes: ibid., fo. 37v. John and Bridgitt Anthony alias Knight: ibid., fo. 38. Joan Edwards: ibid., fos. 35, 36, 114, 139v. John Davys: ibid., fo. 45v. Joan Parker alias Badger: ibid., fo. 34v. Margaret Hammond: ibid., fo. 26v. See also Lambeth MS./S.R./79/8, fos. 35v, 54v, 90.

3. 'A Viewe of Popishe Abuses', Puritan Manifestos, p. 33.

4. Cant. MS./X/8/6, fo. 56v regarding Simon Harwood of Brookland.

to approximately five marks,¹ and the money was most commonly used for the poor of the defendant's home parish. There were, however, interesting variations. For example, in 1574 Myles Brycket of Deal had to pay 20s and provide for his parish church two volumes of Foxe's Acts and Monuments.² On two occasions commissary Thomas Lawse revealed his continuing allegiance to Cambridge and especially to Corpus Christi College by allotting part of the commutation money to poor Cambridge scholars. In 1568 he allotted 3s 4d out of a commutation to go to each of two 'pauperibus scolasticis ^{Uni} Academia Cantabrigia'.³ One of them, Paul Salmon, took his B.A. in 1569 as a student at Corpus.⁴ The other student, Henry Lacy, may have been at Trinity.⁵ The rest of this commutation went to the poor prisoners of Canterbury and Maidstone. Again in 1575 Lawse ruled that 13s 4d of a commuted penance should go to each of two poor scholars of Corpus Christi College Cambridge. One of the recipients was probably a relative of the defendant.⁶ The other, one 'Thaksted', was perhaps known to Lawse because he came from Norfolk.⁷ The remaining 40s of the

1. These figures are based on the cases listed below. This is not a comprehensive list of all penances commuted during Parker's administration, but it is a large portion of them. Consistory court vs. Alice Dawson of Hythe (dancing on Sunday: 2s 6d), Cant. MS./Y/3/17, fos. 30, 33. Archdiaconal court vs. John Coppyn of Shepherdswell (10s); Same vs. George Blatche (40s); Cant. MS./X/1/10, fos. 36v and 82v respectively. Same vs. Bartholomew Fowle of Boughton Monchelsea (10s); Cant. MS./X/1/7, fos. 29v-30v. Same vs. one Brooke of St. Mary-In-The-Marsh (40s): Cant. MS./X/1/12, fos. 31v, 117v. Same vs. Richard Wood of Faversham (5 marks): Cant. MS./X/1/9, fo. 56. Consistory court vs. Thomas Collett of Detling (20s): Cant. MS./X/8/6, fo. 33. Same vs. Nicholas Wade of Hollingbourne (£3 8s 8d), Cant. MS./Y/3/17, fo. 39. 1568, July, St. Alphege, fo. 58 (5s). Cf. Cant. MS./X/8/6, fos. 43, 45 (4s). In addition, there were the commutations discussed above.

2. Cant. MS./X/8/6, fo. 6. Cant. MS./Y/3/17, fos. 30-31v, Cant. MS./Z/3/17, fo. 57, sub Deal.

3. Cant. MS./X/8/6, fo. 33 sub Detling.

4. Venn, iv, 8 where fuller details are given.

5. Cooper, II, 41.

6. Cant. MS./Y/3/17, fo. 39. The defendant was Nicholas Wade, the recipient Henry 'Wad' 'Wead' or 'Ward'.

7. Venn I, iv, 217, sub John Thaxter.

commutation was to go to the poor of Hollingbourne, the home parish of the defendant.

In spite of these admirable gestures, however, the commutation of penances was an abuse. Among other things, profligate masters (for a few shillings and, if the ecclesiastical courts¹ or justices of the peace were efficient, the cost of the upkeep of the child) were by this mechanism allowed to abuse their already appallingly strong control over their servants. Since some of the more important people went so far as to marry to their servants or to 'other symple sowles' the girls that they (the important people) had gotten with child, or else sent the girls out of the diocese,² in order 'to culler the matter'³ it is not surprising that they would try to have their penances commuted. For example, in 1569 'Mr. Robert Golding', convicted of adultery with his maid, had his penance commuted for £20.⁴ In 1574 one Robert Barrowe of Mersham was convicted before the archdiaconal court of having fathered his servant girl's child and having sent her away. His penance was commuted for £5---which money he in fact paid---but the mother had to do her three penances before the court finally closed the case.⁵

Parker could have ended the practice of commuting of penance. As one of the high commissioners, if not as archbishop, Parker could have forbidden commutation of penance throughout the country⁶ the way bishop Barnes of Durham in 1577 forbade ~~them~~^{it} within his diocese.⁷

1. Under Parker the ecclesiastical courts took bonds from fathers of illegitimate children which required them to see to the education and maintenance of the child. E.g., archdiaconal court vs. John Ludgate (£20 bond), Cant. MS./X/1/12, fo. 13v.

2. Cant. MS./X/1/7, fo. 45v-47 sub Bilsington, archdiaconal court vs. Warde and Ones.

3. Cant. MS./X/1/12, fos. 35v, 36, sub Staplehurst.

4. H.C. Mag. V, 15. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/5, fo. 105.

5. Cant. MS./X/1/12, fos. 43, 47v.

6. It is sometimes forgotten that the high commission, on which Parker was placed on 19 July, 1559---the day after his nomination to the archbishopric---was for the entire realm. C.P.R. Eliz, I, (1558-1560), p. 118.

7. Kennedy, II, 77.

(iv) ROYAL INDULGENCES.

Another way in which men and women convicted before the ecclesiastical courts could, and did, avoid doing public penance was by petitioning and obtaining the Queen's indult or indulgence.¹ Unfortunately practically none of the records of the acts of the privy council for the mid-1530's survive and I have not elsewhere² been able to discover when, after the ending in 1535 of papal right to grant indulgences^{or dispensations}, to Englishmen,³ the Tudor crown decided to assume for itself the power to pardon ecclesiastical penances. Moreover, the authors of the standard works on law and administration seem to have been unaware that Elizabeth was granting these indulgences^{or dispensations} and therefore they do not explain the mechanism for doing so.⁴ It seems logical that they should have been issued through chancery, but if so they were not enrolled on the patent rolls.⁵ They were not the same as the royal pardon which pardoned people, generally speaking, for convictions at common or statute---but not at canon---law. Neither the general pardon which Elizabeth issued on her accession⁶, nor the specific

1. The scribal diplomatic is illustrated by the case of Alice Tanner of Alkham, singlewoman, who appeared before the archdiaconal court in 1572, confessed to the charge of having mothered a child out of wedlock, 'et implorat beneficium indulgentiae Dominam Nostrae Reginae; et quia constat Dominam indultus esse, ideo dominus eam ab officio dimisit'. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 120v, sub Alkham. The court scribe usually wrote that the offender 'implores' or 'petitions' (petijt) the Queen's indulgence. Ibid., fo. 18v.

2. I have checked the indices of L. & P. Hen. VIII volumes VII-XXII; Steele's Proclamations, Burn and Phillimore on ecclesiastical law, Holdsworth's History of English Law, Makower's history of the church's constitution, and Guiseppe, Guide to the Public Records (London, 1923).

3. 25 Hen. VIII, c. 21, in SR., III, 470; L. & P. Hen. VIII, IX (1535), p. 324, number 964, Chapuys to Charles V.

4. E.g., references given in note 2, this page.

5. I have checked the names of those within Canterbury diocese who petitioned the Queen's indulgence against the indices to the published calendars of patent rolls and against P.R.O./IND./16772, 16773 'Calendar of Patent Rolls 1-16 Elizabeth' and Index, and P.R.O./IND./16774, 16775 'Calendar of Patent Rolls 17-30 Elizabeth' and Index.

6. C.P.R. Eliz., I, pp. 37-39, 149-246. The full text of the pardon is in T. Rymer, Foedera, VI, iv (London, 1741), 68-69.

pardons which appear on the patent rolls between 1558 and 1575, pardoned people from doing penance. Nor was the granting of these indulgences part of the function of the high court of delegates.¹ (The court of delegates dealt with the appeals of people who contested the findings of the regular ecclesiastical courts, not with the granting of indulgences to those who had already admitted their guilt.) Nor, so far as I can tell, was the granting of indulgences a function of the court of faculties.² It is remotely possible that indulgences were granted by the high commission, but none of the commissions mentioned such powers. It is far more likely that the indulgences came from one of Her Majesty's secular courts or they may have been given by the Queen in person---a genuine act of royal grace.

Those from the diocese of Canterbury during Parker's administration who petitioned the Queen's indulgence, though occasionally guilty of an offence such as ribald talk,³ had usually been convicted of parenting an illegitimate child.⁴

1. It was set up by Henry VIII to deal with appeals which had formerly gone to Rome. A special commission had to be issued under the great seal for each separate appeal, and some of these commissions were enrolled on the patent rolls. This court also dealt with appeals from the high court of admiralty. See 24 Hen. VIII c. 12 and 25 Hen. VIII c. 19, in SR, III, 429, 461 and Burn, Ecclesiastical Law, I, 61-63. The only surviving sixteenth century records of the high court of delegates (at least, that are in the custody of the P.R.O.) are: DEL./3/vol. 1, Examinations 1564-1568; DEL./4/vol. 1, Acts 1538-1544; DEL./5/bundle 1, Sentences 1585-1593; and DEL./8/74, Various, of which only two documents are of Tudor vintage. See. P.R.O. list number 9/15A and H.C. Rothery, Return of all Appeals In Causes of Doctrine or Discipline Made to The High Court of Delegates.... (House of Commons, 1868), which contains a very valuable introduction. P.R.O. round room, 15B.

2. 25 Hen. VIII c. 21, 28 Hen. VIII c. 16 in SR, III, 464-470; 672-673. Wilfred Hooper, 'The Court of Faculties' EHR., XXV (1910), 670-86. P.R.O./C./58/1. E./351/1482, 1483. A.O./1/1203, 1204. E./101/521/8.

3. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 150 sub Shadoxhurst, archdiaconal court vs. John Prowde.

4. Some of the cases of petitioning the royal indulgence follow: archdiaconal court vs. John Kinge of Upchurch (bastardy): Cant. MS./X/1/10, fo. 60v; Same vs. John Chaseman (bastardy); Thomas Pulferd (bastardy and ribald talk); Alice Isaacke, servant to John Bocher of Rolvynden (bastardy); Alice Tanner (bastardy); and Fraunces Byshopp (bastardy); Cant. MS./X/1/11, fos. 102, 18v, 117v, 120v, 130. Same vs. Stephen Oldberd, tailor of Selling (open immorality with his maid servant), Cant. MS./X/1/12, fo. 29. Consistory court vs. Towliner (bastardy), Cant. MS./X/8/9, fo. 60v. Same vs. Christopher Taylor of Betrisden (fornication), Cant. MS./Y/2/23, fo. 52.

The abuse of the royal indulgence, like the commuting of penances, could have neutralized the ecclesiastical disciplinary machinery. Apparently this did not happen in Canterbury diocese during Parker's administration. I have found reference to less than twenty such indulgences. Perhaps one could consider even these few an abuse, but the number does not seem, relative to the thousands of cases heard, excessive. The potential threat to the disciplinary system was, however, there.

(v) EXCOMMUNICATION.

Traditionally the ultimate sanction of the ecclesiastical disciplinary machinery was excommunication.¹ The puritans were highly critical of the way that excommunication was used by the Elizabethan church. Their criticism was partly the cry of people who felt victimised and partly because of the Roman canon law ancestry of excommunication² as practised in the Elizabethan ecclesiastical courts. 'The chieffest parte and last punishment of [ecclesiastical] discipline is excommunication', wrote the admonitionist in the most famous condemnation of the existing usage of excommunication. 'It is', he continued,

'by the consent of the church determined, if the offender be obstinate, which how miserably it hath ben by the Popes' proctours, and is by our new canonists abused, who seeth not? In the primative church it was in many mennes handes: now one alone excommunicateth. In those days it was the last censure of the church, and never went forth but for notorious crimes; Now it is pronounced for every light trifle. Then excommunication was greatly regarded and feared. Now because it is a money matter, no whit at al esteemed. Then for great sinnes, severe punishment, and for small offences, little censures. Now great sinnes either not at al punished, as blasphemy, usury etc., or else sleightly passed over with pricking in a blanket or pinning in a sheet as adultery, whoredome, drunkennes etc.'

He also wrote that

Then [i.e. in the primitive church] it was said 'tell the church'; now it is

1. W.K. Gotwald, Ecclesiastical Censure at the End of the Fifteenth Century (Baltimore, 1927), *passim*.
2. Anonymous, A Full and Plaine Declaration (1574), pp. 29, 42.

spoken, 'complaine to My Lord's Grace, Primate and Metropolitaine of al England, or to his inferiour, My Lord Bishop of the diocesse, [or], if not to him, shew the chancelor or officiall or commissarie or doctor.'¹

But one of the principal reasons for puritan complaint was that they thought it was an abuse for excommunication to be used as an administrative device---a device to get people to come into court to answer charges, or to do what the court had asked, rather than as a punishment in itself.²

In the diocese of Canterbury under Parker excommunication was certainly used more as an administrative device than for anything else. From parishes in which the laity, by refusing the company of an excommunicate,³ and the clergy, e.g. by reading the declaration of excommunication and refusing the sacrament to an excommunicate,⁴ would co-operate, excommunicate defendants were often induced to appear in court.

Contemporary and modern critics have written that the system of excommunication in Elizabethan England was abused and often a farce. For example, in Gloucester diocese⁵ the effectiveness of ecclesiastical discipline was almost neutralized by the failure of the courts to secure the attendance of those cited, by the use of a proxy to appear in the stead of the defendant, the failure of the court to enforce its

1. 'An Admonition to the Parliament', pp. 17-18.

2. Ibid., passim. Cant. MS./X/8/6, fo. 56v, consistory court vs. Simon Harwood of Brookland (1569) for the absolution of an excommunicate and the 10s fee. Most of these excommunications seem to have been lesser, rather than summa excommunicationis. Incidentally, under Edwardian legislation those guilty of violence in a church or churchyard automatically incurred the sentence of greater excommunication. 5 & 6 Ed. VI, c. 4, in SR., IV, 133-34. For a pardon from the penalties---including mutilation---which could be incurred under this statute, see C.P.R. Eliz., II, 213-14. See Burn, op. cit., II, 243.

3. 'We present Symon Fourde bycause he receyvethe John Edmondes in his house, and lodgethe hym in his house [Edmondes] being excommunycate and not reconsyled.' Fourde submitted to the judge's correction. Cant. MS./X/1/12, fo. 1.

4. E.g., Cant. MSS./X/1/10, fo. 82, archdiaconal court vs. Elizabeth Walker (1571); /X/1/11, fo. 165v sub Westgate, regarding Garrett Gosson, physician (1572).

5. F. Douglas Price, 'The Abuses of Excommunication and the Decline of Ecclesiastical Discipline under Queen Elizabeth', EHR., LVII (1942), 106-15.

orders once it had sentenced someone, the large numbers of people who stood excommunicate for years without ever receiving absolution, and the reluctance of the ecclesiastical courts to employ the aid of the temporal power. Some of these weaknesses were also to be found in the disciplinary system of the diocese of Canterbury under Parker,¹ but nonetheless the use of excommunication in that diocese was anything but a farce.

The majority of defendants in Canterbury diocese did, in fact, fail to appear on the first citation and were therefore declared to be contumacious. Usually the judges withheld, for a time, the pains and penalties of contumacy; but if the offender persisted in his or her refusal to comply with the court's orders, and the majority of the contumacious individuals did refuse to comply, the judge would pronounce the sentence of lesser excommunication by virtue of which the defendant was deprived 'of the use of the sacraments and divine worship'.² Although it was not uncommon for a defendant to ignore five or six citations (which might include as many repetitions of the sentence of excommunication), there were a multitude of reasons why this might be so. There were many cases similar to that of Edward Stretter of Ashford who said he had not appeared when cited because he was under orders 'to be at an howre's warninge to attend on the Princesse' affaires'.³ There were other cases such as that of Margaret Croche of Lenham of whom the curate wrote 'that she hath but one legg and canot appere at this place'.⁴ However, as far as the records tell us, most cases within the diocese of Canterbury during Parker's administration were either determined or dropped within a year. It is possible that bribery explains

1. For example, once, in the first year of Parker's administration, a defendant made the judge of the consistory court his proxy. This ridiculous situation was a common abuse in other dioceses. However, this was the only example I have found in Canterbury during Parker's administration. (Cant. MS./Y/2/23, fo. 49v).

2. Burn, II, 243.

3. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/5, fo. 162.

4. Ibid., fo. 160.

why many cases were dropped, but at least the courts did not hesitate to cite the influential people of the diocese¹ and did their best to get people to obey their citations. In 1593 one offender was cited 23 times without incurring excommunication and she was finally let off by the Queen's indulgence. Such a series of citations, without excommunication, would not have happened under Parker.²

The importance, for the success of the excommunication system, of having a resident clergyman with enough local power or prestige to overcome opposition, and who was in agreement with the action taken by the courts, is well illustrated by the case of vicar Richard Fletcher of Cranbrook. Fletcher, unpopular with the puritans, got his benefice on Parker's patronage and was in agreement with the archbishop's policies.³ In 1569 he went so far as to bury outside the 'rayles' of the parish cemetery one John Sturton⁴ who had refused, the year before, to answer charges of fornication with one 'Gartred a wench' and hence stood excommunicate when he died. Incidentally, having died excommunicate, it is probable that Sturton died intestate.⁵

(vi) SECULAR AID.

The difficulties that the Canterbury ecclesiastical courts had with Richard Warham of Wingham⁶ reveal that they certainly needed the backing of more powerful institutions---especially when they were dealing with 'great men' or people of some

1. Cant. MS./Y/2/20, fo. 44v, court vs. Simon Padian bailiff of New Romney.

2. Cant. MS./X/3/35, fo. 120.

3. Collinson, II, 774-776; Reg., p. 784.

4. 'Parish Register of Cranbrook: Burials' (Typescript in Canterbury Cathedral Library), p. 12. Cf. Constance Jervice, 10 March, 1579. Ibid., p. 20. Incidentally, Fletcher's successor William Eddye, several of whose children emigrated to America, may have followed Fletcher's example: at least he noted when people died excommunicate. Gyles Gybson, 13 Aug., 1592; Richard Adams, 28 May, 1593; etc. Ibid., pp. 32, 33.

5. Cant. MS./X/1/9, fo. 76. He is not in Index of Wills...At Canterbury (1558-1577) ed. C.H. Ridge (London, 1940).

6. Cant. MSS./X/8/6, fos. 7, 14, 20v, 23, 44, 49-48v [sic], 50, 55v, 59v-60, 61v-63, 64, 66v-68, 71, 79, 80v, 84, 85; /Z/4/12, fo. 121; for the continuation of the case before the archbishop's visitors see /Z/3/10/i. fo. 25 and H.C. Mag., V, 119.

local influence.¹ The diocesan courts of Canterbury could, if they wished, enlist the support of local secular authorities and the co-operation of mayors,² constables³ and town councils was usually forthcoming. This was a fact of importance in such disciplinary matters as the control of liquor consumption⁴ and the maintenance of bastards.

The justices of the peace, in the selection of whom for the county of Kent Parker had some influence,⁵ co-operated with the ecclesiastical authorities. The justices of the peace helped to enforce church attendance,⁶ investigated the character of prospective wives of clergymen⁷ and sometimes prosecuted clergymen whose disorderly behaviour became too notorious.⁸ The justices of the peace, like the ecclesiastical courts, worked for the correction of drunkenness, eavesdropping, gambling, usury, railing, tale-bearing, witchcraft, working on Sundays and undesirable

1. The Zurich Letters (1558-1579), ed. H. Robinson (Cambridge, 1842), p. 307, Cox to Gaultier; Knappen, pp. 246, 345.

2. E.g., Lambeth MS./S.R./78/5, fo. 58. However, when on 2 January, 1575, vicar Watts married without licence one William Pen and Elizabeth Jacks, the mayor of Dover seems to have supported Watts against the ecclesiastical court. Cant. MS./Y/3/17, fo. 62 sub St. Margaret's.

3. Cant. MS./X/8/6, fos. 2v-3, sub Wood.

4. Between 1560 and 1575 the city council of Canterbury passed several regulations concerning the sale and consumption of alcohol and the justices of the peace enforced the regulations. The principal complaint of the commons of the city was that there were still too many drinking houses. Cant. MSS./'Burgmote Book 1542-1578', fos. 134v, 146, 150v, 196, et passim; /'Quarter Sessions 1-17 Eliz.', especially folders 9, 21, 23 and 33.

5. Corresp., p. 204; The Camden Miscellany, ed. M. Bateson, IX (1893), 57-58.

6. Minstrels, who were among the more colourful of the people sometimes absent from church, appeared before the courts on various charges. The minstrels were: Thomas Wood (for drawing blood in a fight), Cant. MS./'Quarter Sessions 1-17 Eliz.', number 6; Robert Hyxe (non-attendance), Cant. MS./X/1/7, fos. 46v-48, sub Ruckinge; Stephen Holmest, Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 145 sub Bethersden; Thomas Mylls, Cant. MS./X/1/12, sub Ore. Other musicians presented were Robert Colman, ibid., sub St. Alphege; Browne, ibid., sub River; Thomas and Peter Waterman (non-attendance), Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 155 sub Pluckley.

7. Cant. MS./X/1/12, fo. 69 sub Stowting.

8. Cant. MS./'Quarter Sessions 1-17 Eliz.', folders 21, 26, 31.

associations.¹

The courts Christian and the secular courts co-operated:² it was not unusual for cases coming before the justices of peace to be referred to the 'ordinary';³ and when the justices took action on a case the ecclesiastical courts do not seem to have hesitated about turning it over to them.⁴ Their jurisdictions, within the city of Canterbury at least, seem to have been regarded as complementary rather than contradictory.⁵ Even the scribes and notaries, such as John Edwards, moved freely from the ecclesiastical courts to the Canterbury city quarter sessions⁶ and the ~~content of the~~ evidence given at Canterbury quarter sessions by the juries of neighbours was often almost indistinguishable in content and phraseology from the content and phraseology of the churchwardens' presentments.⁷

With the exception of the high commission, the ecclesiastical courts could not arrest, fine, or imprison offenders. They could, however, request chancery to issue a writ de excommunicato capiendo for the arrest of defendants who had, even though excommunicated for forty days and more, refused to obey the will of the courts.⁸

1. Cant. MS./'Quarter Sessions 1-17 Eliz.', passim; on the separation of undesirables see ibid., unnumbered folder, court vs. John Whitbye. Also Cant. MSS./X/1/10, fo. 5v, sub St. Paul's, Canterbury; /X/1/7, fos. 79v-83.

2. Cf. Cant. MSS./'Quarter Sessions 1-17 Eliz.', numbers 30 and 33; /X/1/8, fos. 177 and 178 regarding Theecher, Watson and Oldefelde.

3. Ibid., number 21, quarter sessions vs. Edward Carpinter, Bernard Bower, John and Katherine Peter and Robert Hogkyns. Cf. Cant. MS./X/1/12, fo. 75 sub Molash.

4. Cant. MS./X/1/9, fo. 13v, sub Cranbrook.

5. Practically the only pre-Stuart quarter sessions records for the county of Kent so far known to scholars are those for the city of Canterbury. The above discussion of the relation between the church and the justices of the peace has been drawn from the quarter sessions records for the city and from incidental references in the ^{le} ecclesiastical court records. For an example of their complimentary jurisdictions outside of the city, see Cant. MS./X/1/12, fo. 66v, sub St. Peter's Sandwich. Cf. F. Hull, Kent...Archives (Maidstone, 1958).

6. Cant. MSS./Z/5/2, passim; /'Quarter Sessions 1-17 Eliz.', unnumbered folder regarding William Nutt. The records of the consistory court and of Canterbury quarter sessions are often written in the same hand.

7. Ibid., number 21 and /X/1/10, fo. 9v regarding John Norrys and his wife.

8. Holdsworth, I, 631-2; R.C. Fowler, 'Secular Aid for Excommunication', Trans. R. H. Soc., 3rd series, VIII (1914), 113-17.

Every Elizabethan ecclesiastical court, from the high court of delegates¹ down to the meanest archdiaconal court, seems to have had the right to invoke this machinery. During Parker's administration large numbers of people stood excommunicate for forty days and more and the writ was never requested nor issued against them. Why the diocesan courts ^{d, 15th} used the machinery ~~so infrequently~~---why they were so slow to enlist extra-diocesan aid---is a puzzle; nonetheless, the very fact that such aid was available if they wanted it would have strengthened the authority of the diocesan courts.

The de excommunicato capiendo machinery was generally set in motion when a bishop sent to chancery a writ known as a significatio.² The significatio described the circumstances in which the offender had incurred his excommunication, explicitly stated that the offender had been excommunicated for contumacy for forty days and more, and then requested that chancery issue to the appropriate sheriff a writ de excommunicato capiendo. Chancery had no choice in the matter and if the sheriff succeeded in apprehending and imprisoning the excommunicate then he would stay in prison until he had complied with the orders of the ordinary. Once the excommunicate had been absolved and had submitted to the authority of the ordinary, then the whole process was reversed: the bishop would signify chancery requesting that a writ of release go to the sheriff and when the sheriff got that writ then the prisoner would be set free.³

In practice within the diocese of Canterbury the procedure was somewhat more

1. P.R.O./C./85/207. Father F.D. Logan informed me that not until 1499, when cardinal Morton was chancellor, did the papal delegates have the right to invoke the de excommunicato capiendo machinery. Cf. ibid., document number 1.

2. The earliest surviving significatio in the P.R.O. is dated 1221 and is for the diocese of London; the latest is dated 1599 and is for Durham. P.R.O./'Chancery Class List (Supplementary)', II, Press 24/26B, pp. 16-23.

3. E.g., P.R.O./C./85/28, document 22, for the writ of release of John Parfie of Hereford diocese.

complicated. The local ordinary had to notify the archbishop for the arrest of an excommunicate. Then Parker would send his significatio to chancery. Chancery would then issue the writ de excommunicato capiendo either to the sheriff of Kent, the sheriff of the city of Canterbury,¹ or to the lord warden of the Cinque Ports,² depending upon the place in which the excommunicate lived.

The effectiveness of the machinery was increased, though the procedure was further complicated, by a statute of 1563.³ (Parker and Grindal had collaborated on the first drafts of the bill and Parker was personally present in the house of lords when the bill had its first reading. The house of commons added a proviso which considerably reduced the scope of Parker's original bill---i.e., the commons did not permit too great an enhancement of the powers of the ecclesiastical courts).⁴ The medieval writs had been non-returnable and hence by the Elizabethan period sheriffs were remiss in acting upon them. Parker's act of 1563 was designed to correct that weakness. From 1 May, 1563, some writs de excommunicato capiendo issued by chancery were made returnable into king's bench and a sheriff who failed so to return them was amerⁱable. The act was used against those who refused to take the oath,⁵ in testamentary suits,⁶ and it was, in the days before the recusancy acts, a way of fining heavily gentlemen like William Stapleton of Sussex who refused to receive the sacrament.⁷

1. E.g., P.R.O./C./85/28, document 24, regarding Anthony Howe.

2. E.g., ibid., document 21 and Reg., pp. 504-505.

3. 5 Eliz., c. 23 (1563), in SR., IV, 451-3.

4. J. Strype, Annals, I, i (Oxford, 1824), 460; L.J., I, (1507-1577), 650; cf. 610, 617, 618; S. D'Ewes, Journals (London, 1682), pp. 90, 71, 73; J.E. Neale, Parliaments I, 615-6, for the 'ABC' bills which were quite a different thing.

5. Grindal so employed this machinery against Richard Brehake, S.T.B. P.R.O./K.B./29/210, Pascha Memoranda, rot. lxxxij.

6. P.R.O./K.B./29/199, Hillarius vii Eliz., rot. 44r sub Kanciae.

7. Ibid., rot. 94r, sub Suthsexia. Cf. M. Blatcher, 'The Working of the Court of King's Bench In the Fifteenth Century' (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1936).

The way in which the writ de excommunicato capiendo was employed in the diocese of Canterbury is illustrated by the case of three Hawkhurst people, Joan Bennett, John Lambkyn and Paschal Slowman. The archdeacon's official, Vincent Denne, had excommunicated these people and they had not appeared for absolution. Denne informed Parker that the parties had stood excommunicate for over forty days and requested him, on account of 'the danger to others and the pernicious example to the people', to send to chancery a significatio for their arrest.¹ Parker's significatio went out the day after he received the information from Denne. Sheriff Kempe of Kent, to whom chancery issued the resulting writ, certified into king's bench that he had imprisoned Lambkyn and Bennett in the Maidstone gaol for eighteen days. At the end of that time they received absolution from the commissary general [sic] of Canterbury and were then released.²

The matter was not, however, quite so simple with Paschal Slowman. He had fled Kent for Sussex. The writ de excommunicato capiendo, however, ran also in the county or diocese into which a defendant had fled and thus, on the same day that the chancery writ for the arrest of Lambkyn and Bennett had gone out to the sheriff of Kent, chancery issued to sheriff Richard Covert of Sussex a writ for the arrest of Slowman. Covert returned that Paschal was not to be found in his bailiwick. Consequently king's bench, in accordance with the statute, began to issue writs of facias. The first one included a $\text{£}10$ fine for failure to surrender to the sheriff, and it was followed by ten more such writs, each with a $\text{£}20$ penalty attached. By the time king's bench stopped issuing writs of facias Slowman was $\text{£}210$ indebted to the crown. I have found no record of him having paid the fine.³ The process stopped when

1. Reg., pp. 446-47.

2. P.R.O./K.B./29/199, vii Eliz., rot. 94r.

3. P.R.O./E./137/18/4, Elizabethan estreats for Kent has, among other sources, been tried.

sheriff William Cromer of Kent certified into king's bench that Slowman had surrendered and was in the Queen's prison in Kent.¹

Three years after the original request for Slowman's arrest had gone into Parker, Denne again wrote to the archbishop to say that Slowman had been imprisoned as a result of the chancery writ de excommunicato capiendo and that he was still in prison. Slowman had, however, submitted to Denne's correction, had been absolved, and he therefore requested Parker/signify chancery for the relaxation of the writ and the release of Slowman. Parker then requested chancery relax the writ and release Slowman.²

Though scribal brevity and other documentary insufficiencies render exact statements impossible, about twenty-eight people in Canterbury diocese during Parker's administration were subjects of the writ and of those twenty-eight³ about ten were effected by the 1563 act.⁴

The de excommunicato capiendo machinery was no respecter of persons. Two of the writs were issued against clergymen⁵, one against a gentleman⁶ and eleven against women.⁷ One of the women, Rose Lowther of Wingham, was wealthy enough for Richard

1. P.R.O./K.B./29/199, Pascha vii Eliz., rot. 69r, sub Suthsexia. For the limits of citation by ecclesiastical courts, which limits the writ de excommunicato capiendo as strengthened by the act of 1563 overcame in part, see 23 Hen. VIII, c. 9, in SR., III, 377-78.

2. Reg., pp. 485-86. In 1570 Paschal Slowman, along with fifteen other people of Appledore, Kent, was again indicted before king's bench, this time on a charge of illicit assembly. P.R.O./K.B./29/205, Hillarius xii Eliz., rot. 12r. For the goods of Paschal Slowman see Maidstone MS./PRC/21/13.

3. P.R.O./C./85/28; /C./47/8/6; /K.B./29/196-211 inclusive, all entries under Kanciae examined.

4. Bennett, Lambkyn, Slowman, Lowther, Hodgekyn, Man, Fynche, Roodes, Carden and Wybourne. Reg., pp. 446-47, 451-52, 504-05, 1047-48, 1082-83; Cant. MS./X/1/8 fo. 174; P.R.O./C./85/28, document 21.

5. Jasper Hopkins and Thomas Carden. Reg., pp. 354, 1047.

6. John Man of Canterbury. Ibid., pp. 451-2.

7. Ibid., pp. 445-7, 451, 507-08, 1081-83, 1088-89; Cant. MSS./Z/4/12, fo. 121; /X/8/6, fos. 48v, 52, passim; /X/1/8, fo. 163; P.R.O./C./85/28, document 21.

Warham of Wingham, gent., to allege that his reason for visiting her was to borrow money from her 'for himselfe & for his frendes'.¹ Twelve of the cases were at the instance of a third party² and sixteen of the cases were ex officio.³

Of the twelve instance cases one originated in a dispute over the executorship of a will, five originated in a dispute over tithes and six originated in an action of slander or defamation of character. Of the sixteen ex officio cases two originated in a charge of 'crimes and excesses' and one was for failure to attend divine service in the parish church on Sundays and holy days.⁴ One was for failure to account for the revenues of a vicarage held either in farm or in sequestration, three were for vocal contempt of the church and its excommunications, two were for uncertain reasons and the other seven were for adultery, fornication or incontinence.

The Canterbury ecclesiastical courts also employed the de excommunicato capi-
iendo machinery as an administrative device. If the orders of one of the courts were being ignored or if there were vocal contempt of such orders⁵ the writ could be requested. If a defendant refused to give evidence,⁶ refused to appear to answer charges,⁷ or refused to do,⁸ or to certify to having done, penance, the writ could be requested by the court, or, in instance cases, by the plaintiff.

1. Cant. MS./X/1/8, fos. 49-48v [sic].

2. References given and Reg., pp. 477-79, 499-500, 581-2, 1068; P.R.O./C./85/28, documents 24 and 25.

3. Reg., pp. 354, 400-01; Cant. MSS./X/1/10, fo. 74; /Y/2/24, fo. 96; /X/1/8, fo. 174; /Z/3/8, fos. 4, 16, 37v-38, 60, passim; /X/1/7, fos. 147v-148; references already given.

4. A statute of 1552 enumerated the holy days to be kept: 5 & 6 Ed. VI, c. 3 in SR., IV, 132-33. Cf. C.R. Cheney, 'Rules for the Observance of Feast-Days in Medieval England', Bul. I.H.R., XXXIV (1961), 117-147.

5. Cant. MSS./X/1/8, fo. 163, court vs. Joan Haslam of Cranbrook: /X/1/10, fo. 74, court vs. Alexander Myller alias Myllward also of Cranbrook; /X/1/7, fos. 147v-148, court vs. Ralph Rychard of Upchurch.

6. Reg., pp. 504-05; P.R.O./C./85/28, document 21.

7. Reg., pp. 1082-83; Cant. MS./X/8/6, fo. 52.

8. Cant. MS./X/1/9, fo. 35 regarding Robert Hodgekyn.

(vii) APPEALS TO ARCHIEPISCOPAL AUTHORITY.

A few months after he became archbishop, Parker wrote to the judges of both his courts of audience and arches ordering them to refuse to hear certain appeals from lower ecclesiastical courts. The appeals to which he referred were those intended merely to delay the course of justice or to frustrate the authority of the bishops and their local officers.¹ This desire to devolve responsibility was reflected in the relatively few times that Parker or his central courts took cognizance of a case which arose in the Canterbury diocesan courts or arose out of the visitatorial activities of Parker's commissaries. There were a few cases in which Parker took direct action by sitting as judge of his own consistory court;² occasionally he would countermand the decision of a local court;³ but it was far more typical for him to refuse to interfere or to trespass upon the jurisdiction of an inferior court.⁴ In the quite considerable corpus of archdiaconal and consistory court records there remain only twenty-five or thirty traces of action in disciplinary matters by Parker himself or his central courts.

In two of these cases Parker appears to have used on^e of his courts to stop action in another.⁵ In another case the archdiaconal court was able to render

1. Corresp., pp. 128-29.

2. Cant. MSS./X/10/10, fos. 46v-48 (September, 1563); /Y/2/24, fos. 129, 130 (April 1564).

3. In 1561 Parker stopped archdiaconal court action against James Austen whom he had already tried and acquitted. Cant. MS./X/8/5, fos. 79v, 81; Reg., p. 671.

4. Co-operation worked both ways. In 1561 one Alexander Grigesby attempted to delay a decision in a tithes suit by having the case referred from the archbishop back to the archdiaconal court. When the official learned of this, he sent the case back to the archbishop. Cant. MS./Y/4/7, fo. 31v (Chartham).

5. Cant. MSS./X/8/6, fos. 28, 33v, involving the court of arches and the Canterbury consistory court, and /X/8/5, fo. 36v involving the archdiaconal court and the prerogative court of Canterbury.

assistance to the prerogative court of Canterbury.¹ Upon one occasion Parker's visitors referred a matrimonial case back to the archdiaconal court.² On another, Parker, having found guilty a defendant from the diocese, ordered the defendant to do such penance as was assigned him by the consistory court.³ On another occasion one William Grydeler was being troublesome about the maintenance of his bastard child. Parker supported the consistory court in this case by writing to the judge ordering him to proceed against Gyrdeler any prohibitions previously granted to the contrary notwithstanding.⁴ Occasionally, when a clergyman or matters of religious policy were involved, the local courts would turn to the archbishop for help. This happened once when Pashe, the vicar of New Romney, was charged with irregularities in a funeral service.⁵ In May, 1565, the commissary general ordered one Edward Perkyn of Charing to appear before the archbishop at Bekesbourne because Perkyn had said service in the church since he had been forbidden so to do.⁶ In 1569 one Harris of Halden was ordered to appear before the archbishop at Lambeth (or wherever the archbishop might be) because Harris had hired himself out as a curate though he was not ordained.⁷ In 1574 John Mounte, the excommunicated curate of Saltwood, was ordered by Robert Bisshop (who was reforming the detecta of the archiepiscopal visitation of the previous year) not to minister in the diocese until the archbishop's determination in the (somewhat complicated) case had been heard.⁸ The archbishop's exercise of his powers of dispensation occasionally precipitated business into the

1. Cant. MS./X/1/6, no foliation, regarding the executors of the will of John Staple of Linsted. The executors had died before the estate was settled.

2. Cant. MS./Y/2/24, fo. 32v.

3. Ibid., fo. 129v.

4. Cant. MS./X/8/5, fo. 85.

5. Cant. MS./Y/2/24, fo. 30.

6. Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fos. 133v, 167v.

7. Cant. MS./X/8/8c, fo. 288.

8. Cant. MS./Z/3/11, fo. 34.

local ecclesiastical courts.¹ There were a few cases in which the archdiaconal and consistory courts found that a case upon which they had begun to take action was being, or had been, heard 'coram reverendissimo'.²

As far as appeals from the local to the central courts were concerned, however, evidence of only two has been found. One of these appeals, an appeal involving accounting for a churchwardenship, was apparently withdrawn by the appellant who decided to accept the decision of the local court.³ The other case was that of Edward Leedes of Newenden who on 28 January, 1568, denied that he had kept suspicious company with one Katheryn Saunder. Official Vincent Denne ruled that Leed^s should produce seven compurgators and that the curate of Benenden was to receive the compurgation. On the following day Leed^s re-appeared in the archdiaconal court and said: 'I do dissent to all thinges donne yesterday by you [official Denne] & youres, & I appeale unto...the deane of the arches'. The official then interrogated him about what 'cause' he had and

'whether he thinke the tyme to[o] shorte to bryne [sic] up his compurgators and [said that] yf he founde hymself greved therewith he should have a longer day yf he wolde aske yt';

to which offer Leed^s' reply was: 'as for that, I care not'.⁴

Leed^s did not, however, get away with his attempt to evade the jurisdiction of the local court. On 9 February, nine days after his original appeal, Leed^s re-appeared before Denne who was sitting judicially in his house and, in pursuance of letters

1. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/5, fo. 163v, sub Chislet regarding a dispensation to take communion at another than the parish church. In 1561 Hugh Jones exhibited his dispensation granted by the court of audience to be married in the royal chapel rather than in his parish church. Cant. MS./Y/2/24, fo. 57; ibid., fo. 126v (dispensation to be married in any church in the province of Canterbury).

2. Cant. MSS./X/1/2, fo. 32; /X/1/12, fos. 26-26v, sub Bobbing and ibid., sub Woodchurch.

3. Cant. MS./X/8/8c, fos. 282v-83.

4. Cant. MS./X/1/8, fos. 165v, 182v.

missive from official of the court of arches Drury, Denne repeated his earlier sentence. Leed~~s~~[§] entered into a ~~f~~[£]20 bond to do what he had been ordered and judge Denne closed the case.¹

(viii) THE HIGH COMMISSION.

The high commission also strengthened the authority of the local ecclesiastical courts. The scraps of evidence which remain (and there are only twenty or thirty such pieces of evidence scattered throughout the diocesan records) reveal that through the whole period of Parker's administration the high commission was taking cognizance of certain types of cases. For example, the consistory and archdiaconal courts and the high commission sometimes co-operated in dealing with a recusant clergyman.² The high commission also sometimes took cognizance of such manifestations of lay recusancy as refusal to take down the rood loft,³ illegal bell-ringing,⁴ the building of bon-fires,⁵ continuing obstinacy about taking communion or coming to church,⁶ and open vocal contention against the clergyman.⁷ Marriage arrangements of doubtful legality, negligence of children, and gross immorality also came within the purview of the high commission. For example, in 1572 it was said that one Thomas Blackton of Wye had taken his bastard child to his shop and that the child was likely to perish unless some remedy were quickly taken. Blackton and the other

1. Cant. MS./X/1/9, fo. 25v.

2. Cant. MS./Z/3/7, fo. 37 (1561) regarding Nicholas Sares, cl., of Boughton Blean who was the servant of 'Mr. Pettit'. Cant. MS./X/1/10, fo. 76, sub Biddenden (1571), regarding Philip Symondson. Cf. also Cant. MS./Reg. V¹ (1553-1558), fo. 58 regarding Robert Collyns sede vacante.

3. Cant. MS./Y/2/24, fo. 86v (1562).

4. Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 107v, sub Wye (1561).

5. Cant. MS./Y/2/24, fo. 93v (1562).

6. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 151v, sub Harrietsham (1572). Two somewhat similar cases are recorded at ibid., fo. 87, sub Chart-next-Sutton and Cant. MS./X/1/10, fo. 82, sub Ashford (1571).

7. Ibid., fo. 78, sub Biddenden (1571); Cant. MS./Y/3/17, fos. 35, 34v (1574).

people involved in the case appeared and said that the matter was being tried before the high commission. They were thereupon dismissed with a warning.¹ In 1574 the churchwardens of Halden complained that John Whytffyll, gent., had been in the parish for over half a year, was separated from his wife and they did not know the reason why. When Whytffyll appeared he said that the case was pending before the high commission. The judge of the archdiaconal court thereupon decreed his own authority to be superseded and the case was dismissed.² A third case, one about which we have considerable information, was that of John Carter the shoemaker of Hythe. The case was heard in February 1572 by bishop suffragan of Dover Richard Rogers, commissary general Thomas Lawse and 'the resydue of the Quene's Hyghne's commysysoners in causes eccllyastycalle within the countye of Kent'. Carter was charged with the 'corruptynge & deflowrynge of maydes' and various other things including intimidation of witnesses against him.³

The importance of the southern high commission may have been greater, especially after 1570, than Usher thought. Certainly as far as Canterbury diocese during Parker's administration was concerned the fact that some of the commissioners lived in the diocese increased its local importance. The almost total loss of records of high commission activities in Kent makes assessment of it difficult, but the few cases about which we have information show that the high commission concerned itself with cases of especial complexity or gravity,⁴ that it had regular court days⁵ and

1. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 99, sub Wye.

2. Cant. MS./X/1/12, fo. 42, sub Halden. Cf. consistory court vs. Christopher Askew, curate of Minster, Cant. MS./Y/3/17, fo. 3 (1574).

3. Cant. MS./X/8/9, fo. 94.

4. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 101v (1572) regarding William Wells whose maidservant was pregnant by him. He was tried by the high commission.

5. Cant. MS./Y/2/24, fo. 86v (1562). This was also indicated in Cant. MS./X/1/10, fo. 82 where the judge named a specific day upon which the defendant was to appear.

that some of its business was transacted in Kent¹ and some at Lambeth.² Moreover, by the terms of their commissions the high commissioners had the power to fine, imprison, take bonds, and to use whatever ways and means they saw fit to maintain uniformity. They had a regular judicial machine including a registrar and a collector of fines.³

1. Ibid., fos. 78, 82; Cant. MS./X/8/9, fo. 94.

2. Cant. MS./Y/3/17, fo. 3.

3. Fines and bonds had to be accounted for at the end of the term of the commissions. A considerable amount of information about these bonds survives for the later sixteenth century, but information for the Parker period has not been discovered. Exchequer classes: P.R.O./E./135 (ecclesiastical documents) and /E./ 101 (Accounts Various), various documents. P.R.O./E./114, boxes 4-11 (Exchequer Bonds) and P.R.O./IND./17055 (K.R. Agenda Book 12-15 Eliz.) have also been checked.

CHAPTER IV

PARKER AND THE MARIAN ECCLESIASTICS.

(i) SEDE VACANTE CHANGES: NOVEMBER 1558 TO DECEMBER 1559.

From the death of Cardinal Pole (17 November 1558) until the death of archbishop Parker (25 May 1575) there was a vast turn-over in diocesan personnel. This was especially true of the months before Parker's own consecration (17 December 1559)---a fact of significance to his whole career as diocesan.

In the majority of cases (where records remain) it seems that the changes in offices which happened with the accession of Elizabeth were the result of a definite legal decision rather than of voluntary vacation by the Marian incumbent. This was different from the situation in London diocese where many clergy left benefices before they were forced to.¹ Resistance was characteristic of Canterbury diocese. Henry VIII found this when he set out to implement his religious policy.² Mary found it

1. E.L.C. Mullins, 'The Effects of the Marian and Elizabethan Religious Settlements Upon the Clergy of London' (London University M.A. thesis, 1948), p. 241 et passim.

2. Sister Mary Justine Peter, 'A Study of the Administration of the Henrician Act of Supremacy in Canterbury Diocese' (Loyola University Ph.D. thesis, 1959).

even more true. At least seventy¹ beneficed parochial clergy were deprived and six or seven of the cathedral prebends changed hands within the first two years of Mary's reign.² Pole's visitation of 1556 showed significant clerical and lay resistance to the return to the Roman allegiance. At least five clergymen showed definite signs of passive if not active resistance,³ and so did several laypeople. Joan Peers expressed unbelief in the Mass,⁴ Thomas Hide burned images,⁵ Joan Alchorne 'contemnit et postponit omnes ceremonias ecclesie et...custodit nonnullos libros schismaticos',⁶ at Folkestone 33 people spurned the sacraments of the church and some of them met in a conventicle,⁷ six people at Wingham did not obey the church⁸ and Joan Read compared the Mass to a halter---i.e., a restriction of one's freedom.⁹ By 1557 there were considerably fewer manifestations of resistance,¹⁰ though the diocesan heresy commission,

1. M.E. Simpkins, VCH, Kent, III, 80 lists 68 clerical deprivations in the first two years of Mary's reign. Cf. Cal. I.S.V., passim and Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fos. 71v, 72v, 75v and 81 regarding Rice, Sevyer, Bredkirke and Mathos.

2. Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanum, ed. J. Le Neve, I (Oxford, 1854), 46-62, regarding Willoughby, Alexander, Devenishe, Goldson, Edmund Cranmer, Ochino and Joseph.

3. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/2, fos. 34v-35 (Richard Davy), fo. 60 (John Hull), fo. 103v (Richard Burcher), fos. 132-136 (Reginald Beke) and fo. 69 (John Woodye). Cf. on these men Harpes., pp. 67, 287, 300, 309, 345; Reg., p. 808; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/38, fo. 102. On the visitation Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fos. 34-34v, 41; Visitation Articles and Injunctions, ed. W.H. Frere and W.M. Kennedy, III (London, 1910).

4. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/2, fo. 130; Harpes., p. 67.

5. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/2, fo. 130.

6. Ibid., fos. 35v-36.

7. Ibid., fos. 125v, 135-144; Lambeth MS./'Registrum Warhami', fo. 382v; B.M. MS./Harl./1759, fo. 427 records that there were 370 communicants at Folkestone.

8. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/2, fo. 61.

9. Ibid., fo. 61.

10. Harpes., pp. 19, 47, 58, 67, 117.

created in April 1556, was still at work,¹ and in 1558 a fresh commission was struck.² By September 1558 much of the resistance had been suppressed³ though in the process at least 44 people were burned.⁴ Protestantism still, however, had a strong grip on the diocese and, pace Birt, it was not only the fanatics who were disloyal to Rome.⁵ 'All the young men and most of the old', the Spanish ambassador wrote shortly after Elizabeth's accession, 'are attacked with heresy, and London, Kent and the seaports are very heretical.'⁶

With the accession of Elizabeth there were, among the Marian parochial clergy of Canterbury diocese, changes arising from the dogmatic scruples of men such as 'Sir Loye', the curate of All Saints Canterbury, changes due to deprivation of men like William Elye (7 July 1561) for non-residence without a dispensation, changes because of the high incidence of death among the Marian clergy and changes due to the promotion of clergymen such as John Crofte, the curate of Deal.⁷ Finally, soon after Pole's death

1. C.P.R., Mary, I (1555-57), 24-25, 81; Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fos. 17-18.

2. Ibid., fos. 29-30. Cf. ibid., fos. 30v-31 where five people were condemned by these commissioners. J. Foxe, The Acts and Monuments, ed. G. Townshend and S.R. Cattley, VIII (London, 1841), 504ff.

3. Cf. ibid., VIII, 253; D.M. Loades, 'The Essex Inquisitions of 1556', Bul. IHR, XXXV (1962), 91-97; Harpes., pp. 317-53.

4. VCH, Kent, II, 80, 82n, 326; Foxe, op.cit., VII, 287ff, 318, 319, 350-51, VIII, 253-55, 300, 320-25; Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fos. 30v-31; B.M. MS./Harl./ 421, fos. 92ff; B.M. MS./ Harl./ 590, fos. 78ff; B.M. MS./Stowe/743, fo. 116; C.P.R. Mary, I (1555-57), 102.

5. H.N. Birt, The Elizabethan Religious Settlement (London, 1907).

6. VCH, Kent, II, 80; Reg., p. 783. Cf. G. Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious after the Suppression of the Monasteries', Essays in History Presented to Reginald Lane Poole, ed. H.W.C. Davis (Oxford, 1927), p. 447 n. 1; H.E.P. Grieve, 'The Deprived Married Clergy in Essex, 1553-1561', R. Hist. Soc. Transactions, XXII (1940), 142; 29 Hen. VIII c. 13 in S.R., III, 292-296.

7. Cal. I.S.V., p. 39.

many Edwardian clergy and other new men appeared on the Canterbury scene, and they reduced the relative importance of the remaining Marian clergy.

One way in which to determine what was happening in the diocese during the early years of Elizabeth's reign is to analyze statistically what happened to the clergy. At the time of archdeacon Harpesfield's visitation three or four weeks before Pole died, the 262 rectories and vicarages and 25 chapels of the diocese¹ were served by at least 226 clergymen, 155 of whom were beneficed and 71 of whom were unbeneficed curates.² In addition, there were the twelve prebendaries, six preachers and twelve minor canons in the cathedral. Of the twelve prebendaries and six preachers ten³ also held parochial benefices and have been counted among the 226.

Richard Thorneden, Marian bishop suffragan of Dover, and Sir John Baker of the exchequer, two of the most vigorous Marian persecutors of Canterbury protestants, were dead by the early months of Elizabeth's reign and thus could

1. B.M. MS./Harl./1759, fos. 416ff;/Harl./594, fos. 63-84; Harpes; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 19-29v; The Register of Henry Chichele, ed. E.F. Jacob, I (Oxford, 1943), 350-364. A survey of 1603 noted, without giving names, that there were 262 parishes in the diocese of Canterbury. B.M. MS./Harl./280, fos. 157-157v.
2. Harpes; Cal. I.S.V.; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 19-29v; Lambeth MS./ 'Registrum Poli', passim; Reg., passim. These figures are not absolutely exhaustive because for some parishes information was inadequate, and there may also have been some unbeneficed priests who have not left traces in the records. Several benefices were vacant, some had both incumbent and curate and there were many pluralists in the diocese.
3. Arthur St. Leger, William Darrell, Nicholas Harpesfield, Hugh Glasier, John Knight, John Mills alias Warham, Robert Searles, Robert Hill, Nicholas Morton and Thomas Burgess. Harpes., pp. 14, 34, 36, 223, 303, 312, 328, 346, 85; Reg., pp. 21, 631-34, 768, 769, 772, 797, 810, 847; DNB, sub Darrell and Harpesfield; Cal. I.S.V., pp. 131 et passim; Le Neve, Fasti, I. 46-62 is too inaccurate to be more than a general guide; A List of the Six Preachers of Canterbury Cathedral, ed. C.E. Woodruff (Canterbury, 1923); Lambeth MS./ 'Registrum Poli', fos. 32, 81v; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 175v.

not lead opposition to the reformers' religious program. Death also quickly removed a significant part of the parochial and cathedral clergy. Two of the twelve prebendaries, that is, George Lily and Hugh Glasier, were dead before July 24, 1559.¹ One of the six preachers, Thomas Burgess, also died in 1559.² The incidence of death among the parochial clergymen is even more impressive. By the time of Parker's first visitation of his diocese in September 1560, thirty-one of the men who were serving Canterbury cures at the end of Mary's reign had died in office. Seven had died before the end of August, 1559, that is, before they had been required to take the oath.³ Four more had died

1. Le Neve, *Fasti*, I, 47, 54; *C.P.R. Eliz.*, I (1558-60), 40, 89, 103, 125. H. Gee, *The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion, 1558-1564* (Oxford, 1898), pp. 257, 263 said that Glasier was deprived and indicated that he got his information from a diocesan register. There is, however, no mention of such a deprivation in *Cal. I.S.V.* or *Reg.* and *C.P.R. Eliz.*, I (1558-60) states that John Butler was presented to the benefice formerly 'held by Hugh Glasier deceased.'

2. *Six Preachers*, p. 6. On the minor canons and six preachers see B.M. MS./Harl./1197, fos. 328v, 329v and *Reg.*, p. 635 where it is recorded that in 1560 there were only seven minor canons instead of the statutory twelve.

3. George Higges, V. SS. Cosmos-and-Damian-in-the-Blean, Canterbury d., ob. before 17 Jan., 1559 (*Cal. I.S.V.*, p. 12); Hugh Lamborde, V. St. Peter's-in-Isle-of-Thamet, Westbere d., probate of will granted 13 Nov., 1558 (*Harpes.*, p. 52); Richard Parkhurst, R. Lyminge with the chapels of Stonford and Padlesworth annexed, ob. before 21 Nov., 1558 (*Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli'*, fo. 81v; *Cal. I.S.V.*, p. 78); George Pickard, V. Selling, Lympe d., will proved 4 April, 1559 (*Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/33*, fo. 107); William Stapleford, V. Tenham, Ospringe d., ob. before 15 Feb., 1559/9 (*Harpes.*, p. 282); Hugh David, V. Eastwell, Charing d., V. Boughton Aluph, Bridge d., before 27 May, 1559 (*Pole, op.cit.*, fo. 82; *Cal. I.S.V.*, p. 42); Thomas Deave (Deve), V. Selling, Ospringe d., ob. before 7 Mar., 1559; *Cal. I.S.V.*, p. 112; Will proved 19 Dec., 1560 (*Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/32*, fo. 17v).

before the archdiaconal visitation of December 1559,¹ fourteen more before the commissary's visitation of May 1560² and six more before Parker's first visitation which began on 17 September, 1560.³ This indication of 'the passing of a generation' is born out by a glance at the incidence of death among

1. Thomas Griffith, R. St. Mary-in-the-Marsh and C. Hope, both in Lympne d., ob. before 12 Dec., 1559 (Reg., pp. 767-768). There was also an Elizabethan clergyman by the name of Thomas Griffith; Francis Hay, C. Eastling, Ospringe d., ob. 1559 (Maidstone MS./P.R.C./ A.Act/13, fo. 120); Steven Nethersole, R. Waldershare, Sandwich d., ob. before Dec., 1559 (Cant. MS./Z/3/5); Ralph Prescotte, R. St. Mildred, Canterbury d., ob. before 12 Dec., 1559 when his will was proved (Maidstone MS/P.R.C./17/33, fos. 119-120).
2. Lewis Ap Rice, R. Warehorne, Lympne d., ob. before 10 Jan., 1560 (Reg., p. 486; Maidstone MS./22/4, fo. 9); Achilles Bonwyck, C. Wittersham, Lympne d., will proved 16 May, 1559 (Maidstone MS./ P.R.C./32/27, fo. 194); Robert Bland, R. Kennarton, Lympne d., V. Linton, Sutton d., ob. before 30 Jan., 1560 (Reg., p. 382); Robert Gare, R. Brook, Bridge d., ob. before 25 March, 1560 (Reg., p. 770); John Girdeler, C. Woodchurch, Lympne d., will proved 11 Jan., 1559 (Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/27, fos. 281-286); John Julian, V. Betrisden, Charing d., ob. before 13 July, 1560 (Reg., p. 387); Edward Keble (Kelby), V. Sheldwich, R. Badlesmere, both in Ospringe d., ob. before 27 Feb., 1560 (Pole, op.cit., fo. 75v and Reg., p. 770). Keble probably would not have given Parker trouble since he had migrated from Essex where he had been deprived of his livings because of marriage (Grieve, "...Deprived Clergy", p. 155); Nicholas Knewstubbe, R. Great Hardres, Bridge d., and C. Northgate, Canterbury d., ob. before 6 April, 1559 (Cal. I.S.V., p. 54); William Milles, C. Monckton, Westbere d., will proved 5 Feb. 1560 (Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/28, fos. 23-24); Thomas Nicholls, V. Hackington (St. Steven), Canterbury d., ob. before 10 Feb., 1560 (Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/33, fos. 216-217); John Rede (Townesley), C. Ulcombe, Sutton d., ob. before 24 May, 1560 (Reg., p. 771); Henry Robson (Jobson), C. Stodmarsh, Bridge d., buried 26 April, 1560 (...Records in the Diocese of Canterbury..., ed. C.E. Woodruff (Canterbury, 1922), p. 240. Hereafter referred to as R.D.C., Woodruff); John Shereve (Sheriff), V. Laysdown and C. Minster, both in Sittingbourne d., ob. before 18 Feb., 1560 (Reg., p. 790); Martin Tindall, R. Newchurch, Lympne d., ob. before 21 Feb., 1560 (ibid., p. 770).
3. Wm. Buncker, R. Tunstall, Sittingbourne d., ob. before 18 July, 1560 (Reg., p. 773); Richard Cranmer, V. Tong, V. Bapchild, both in Sutton d., ob. before 18 July, 1560 (Reg., pp. 387, 773); _____ Wilkinson, C. Newchurch, Lympne d., ob. before 5 June, 1560 (Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/28, fos. 66-67); Richard Buckherst, C. Hedcron and Egerton chapel, Charing d., ob. before 5 Sept., 1560 (Reg., p. 775); Thomas Sothebye, V. Wye, Bridge d., buried 11 July, 1560 (A.C., XXVIII, 318); Robert Charles, V. St. Peter Sandwich, Sandwich d., and C. Wingham, Bridge d. (Reg., p. 806); cf. Reg., pp. 620-40.

the remaining Marian ecclesiastics in the succeeding years. Within the next three years 18 more of the Marian parochial staff had died¹ and 32 more were dead by the time of the clerical survey of 1569²---a total of 84 since September 1558. Fifty died between September 1560 and 1569, ~~and thus most of them must have been at least sixty years of age when Parker took effective control of his diocese.~~ Few such men would have been as willing or able to put up a stiff resistance to innovation as younger men would have.

Thus, by the time of Parker's first visitation in 1560, two Marian prebendaries, one of the cathedral six preachers, and thirty-one parochial clergymen had died in office. The full significance (for the conservative cause) of the loss of thirty-four men is revealed as we examine what happened to the remaining 200 Marian ecclesiastics. Of the 200 who had not died in office, fifty-four were not serving cures by the time of Parker's visitation. Their disappearance from the scene must be considered in connection with the whole story of a struggle for power which was taking place in Kent.

1. Reg., passim, visitation call books, probate records, and the references given so far in this chapter have yielded this information. The deceased were; Richard Forde (1560), Steven Poole (1561), Richard Heten (Eton) (1561), Edward Knight (1560), Robert Mowberrie (1560), Robert Russell (1560), John Armerar (1563), John Brittain (1562), Edward Buckley (1562), Thomas Chapman (1562), John Crofte (1562), William Herring (1562), Christopher James (1563), Richard Kete (1563), Clement Raynehoff (1562), Richard Stertover (1562), Richard Thompson (1563), Richard Waters (1561).

2. Christopher Badcock (1565), Reginald Beke (1564), Ralph Blunt (1563), Robert Brown (1565), John Bucke (1567), William Bucke (1567), Richard Burcher (1567), Alexander Burton (1568), Thomas Cannon (1566), Mr. Thomas Caylie (1567), Mr. Martin Collins (1569), Dunstan Goodhewe (1566), Peter Hall (1566), Thomas Hardewick (1565), Gilbert Hearon or Herne (1567), Roger Jackson (1564), Roger Jones (1565), John Kitchen (1569), William Man (1568), Mr. William Marshall (1564?), Philip Metcalfe (1566), Edward Minge (1567), Mr. John Milles (1565), William Pycock (1568), John Reman (1566), Richard Roberts (1564), Mr. Arthur St. Leger (1569), John Steward (1565), John Trewman (1565), Mr. John Warner (1564), Christopher Waddington or Warrington (1569), and Thomas Wilson (1563). Cf. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey.

One of the first things that the chapter of Canterbury cathedral did when Pole died was to appoint archdeacon Nicholas Harpesfield as dean of the court of arches.¹ This was the most powerful ecclesiastical post in the land. Harpesfield's commission, dated 25 November, 1558, gave him very comprehensive powers and, except for one clause, his commission was not substantially different from those granted right up to the time of Warham. The significantly different clause, however, was one specifically granting Harpesfield cognizance over heresy. This was new,² and, interestingly enough, the clause itself was inserted after the commission had originally been written out. Thus Harpesfield was empowered to put into practise in the whole country those policies which he had perfected in Kent. Harpesfield's new commission empowered him, at least in theory, to try and to condemn everyone from William Cecil and Nicholas Bacon down to the lowliest peasant; and he most certainly had the power, with the episcopate on his side as it was, to condemn returning exiles such as John Jewel.³

On 7 January, 1559, the dean and chapter took further action to preserve the old faith. They appointed one of their number, Richard Fawcett, as their proxy for the forthcoming convocation which was expected to have a profound influence upon the whole future religious policy of the country. Fawcett was given plenary powers to speak and act on behalf of the dean and chapter

1. Cant. MS./Reg. V¹ (1553-58), fo. 52; DNB, sub Harpesfield. According to DNB (where the commission is mis-dated) Harpesfield was to be judge of the arches and dean of the peculiar.
2. I. Churchill, Canterbury Administration, II (London, 1933), 17-19.
3. The sense of urgency among the reformers was not unjustified. See Jewel to Martyr, Zurich Letters (Cambridge 1842), 13-25; J.E. Neale, Parliaments, I (London, 1953), passim; Aylmer to Burghley (1577) in Birt, op.cit., p. 332.

at times when they were not themselves present at the convocation.¹

The dean and chapter ^{in their sede vacante capacity} also made other appointments with a view to bolstering the old faith. Examples were the appointment of Cole and Harpesfield as officers of the prerogative court of Canterbury, the appointment of the same two men as officers of the sede vacante court of audience, and the re-appointment of Robert Collins to the office of commissary general.²

The considerable power which the dean and chapter exercised throughout the province of Canterbury while the archiepiscopal see was vacant was revealed by these appointments and was further illustrated by the many institutions to benefices which they made throughout the province while the see was vacant.³ However, the Elizabethan government soon curtailed the hostile activities of the dean and chapter. On 11 February, 1559, the privy council wrote to Sir Thomas Finche and to alderman of Canterbury George Maye, saying that they had been informed that archdeacon Harpesfield had 'used himself of late very disorderly in sterige the people as muche as in him lyethe to sedytion', and that it was also reported 'by some of the servauntes of the colledge in Christe Church in Cantourbury that religion could not nor should not be altered, and that one man of that colledge hath well-nere a hundred harnesses'. Finche and Maye were instructed to investigate

1. Cant. MS./Reg. V¹ (1553-58), fo. 50. I have not been able to determine the part that dean Nicholas Wotton played in all of this, but see A Full View of the...Transactions in the Reign of...Elizabeth, ed. Forbes, I (London, 1740), 1-4, et passim. We know something of the outcome of the convocation, but Fawcett's name has not previously been linked with it---rather Dr. Henry Cole was noted as the vicar general of the dean and chapter. The important point from the point of view of religious change was that both Fawcett and Cole were arch-conservatiyes.

2. Cant. MS./Reg. V¹ (1553-58), fo. 50; Wilkins, Concilia, IV (London, 1737), 179-80.

3. Cal. I.S.V., passim; Frere, and Kennedy, op.cit., II, 53.

the rumours, to commit to ward those found faulty and to signify to the privy council what action they had taken. They were to find out what armour the chapter possessed, what armour it had 'delyveryed out' and to whom and why.¹ Two months later the council took recognizances of Harpesfield, Cole and several others to ensure that they would appear once a day before the council and that they would not leave London and Westminster and their suburbs without licence. The council further ruled that they (Harpesfield, Cole et al.) pay such fines as would be 'by the Lordes of the counsell assessed uppon [them] for the contempte of late committed [by them] against the Quene's Majestie's order'. Harpesfield, Cole and the others appeared every day from 4 April, 1559, to 11 May; on the latter date Cole was fined five hundred marks and Harpesfield forty pounds.²

Soon after the action against Harpesfield the council took action against the entire chapter of Canterbury cathedral: the powers of the chapter as sede vacante diocesan ordinary and provincial archbishop were suspended. The crown, in the persons of the royal visitors, assumed the spiritual powers of the archbishop which the dean and chapter had been exercising. The crown had previously contented itself with sporadic interference in diocesan affairs but for several months after the suspension of the authority of the chapter the crown (i.e. the royal visitors) became very nearly the sole ecclesiastical

1. A.P.C, ed. Dasent (1558-70), pp. 53-54.

2. Ibid., pp. 78-103. On 18 April the council also took recognizances of John Castell, mariner, Thomas Rammesden, shoemaker, and John West, butcher, all of Dover. These men, apparently enthusiastic protestants or else simple iconoclasts, agreed to be 'of good bearinge' from then on and each of them undertook to declare openly in church at Dover on the following Sunday that 'he dyd very yll and without order to pluck downe the images of that church before any lawe dyd aucthorise him so to doo'. Ibid., p. 88.

authority operating within the diocese.¹

Relatively little is now known about the actions of the royal visitors within the diocese of Canterbury beyond the fact that they held at least one session at Ashford on 25 August, 1559, that they required the clergy to take the oath² and that they ordered the occasional anchorite such as Christopher Warryner to attend services twice a week in the cathedral.³ A few answers to the interrogatories put by the visitors to the chapter of Canterbury cathedral do, however, survive, and they are very instructive. The visitors had some interest in negative matters such as any resistance which was being shown to the Queen's religious proceedings, but by far the greatest number of inquiries dealt with the positive parts of the reformers' programme: what alms were distributed? were sermons and lectures provided for and adequately attended? did the chapter fulfill its responsibility in connection with the education of boys? had any long leases been granted to the detriment of future incumbents? and so forth.⁴ These interrogatories, and what we know of the individual careers of the visitors, make it clear that they were, in general, of a reforming inclination.⁵ Yet they must not have been too

1. C.G. Bayne, 'The Visitation of the Province of Canterbury', *EHR*, XXXVIII (1913), 636-677. Cf. Canterbury MS./'Sede Vacante Register, 1558-59', fos. 4, 5 (cited in Bayne).

2. Bayne, 646-50.

3. Cant. MSS./Y/2/20, fo. 42; /Y/2/24, fo. 5v.

4. Frere, *op.cit.*, III, 30.

5. Cecil drew up a list of visitors for the dioceses of Rochester, Canterbury, Chichester and Winchester which list comprised: Robert Wisedom; clergyman Thomas Bacon, Dr. Robert Weston, Robert Nowell, and Ralph Morice; and laymen Lord Treasurer Winchester, Henry Earl of Arundel, Henry Earl of Hertford, William Lord Cobham, Sir William Cecil, Sir Richard Sackville, Sir Thomas Cawerden, Sir Henry Semer, Sir William Kellaway, Sir Thomas Finche, Nicholas Wotton, John Carell, Richard Kingsmill, Edward Isacke, Humphrey Hales, and Edward Boyes. Bayne 658. S.P./12/4, no. 34. Winchester may have been one of the moderating influences among the conservatives. P.R.O./S.P./12/6, fos. 33-34 (August 1559).

unbending or else they would have ejected many more of the Canterbury clergy and they would not have acted strongly in favour of conservative Dr. John Warner.¹

The record of the acts of the visitors is no longer extant, nor is the text of their commission. We do know, however, that the visitors had the power to institute and to induct clergymen.² To their counterparts in the ecclesiastical province of York, moreover, had been committed authority to re-instate clergymen who had, propter marriage or Edwardian ordination, lost their benefices under Mary. Scholars such as Birt have assumed that the southern commissioners had the same powers, and it now is clear that the royal visitors made use of the powers to institute, induct and re-instate. In no other way can the disappearance from their benefices of thirty-one clergy (who had not died) between September 1558 and December 1559 be accounted for.³ To begin with, we can infer from the facts at our disposal that at least six Marian clergymen who had obtained their benefices or curacies as a result of Marian deprivations lost them during the royal visitation. Thus, on 29 April, 1555, Robert Haynes was admitted to Marden on the deprivation of Anthony Burton (Barton, Burden).⁴ Haynes himself had been married (his wife was living at Brabourne in 1557)⁵ but he was still rector of Marden at the time of Harpesfield's visitation in September 1558.⁶ But by 16 December 1559 Anthony Burton was again vicar of Marden.⁷ The dean and chapter had not

1. Bayne, p. 646; DNB, sub John Warner.

2. Gee, op.cit., p. 91 number 8.

3. Birt, op.cit., pp. 177ff, 196-97; Grieve, op.cit., pp. 161-69. Comparing Harpes., and Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fos. 124-58v, 184-88. These figures do not take into account the changes in the more than fifty benefices exempt from the jurisdiction of the archdeacon.

4. Cal. I.S.V., p. 79.

5. Harpes., p. 190.

6. Ibid., p. 327.

7. Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fos. 155, 188v.

re-instated Burton.¹ Nor had Parker had time to do it (he was not even consecrated until the following day, 17 December, and there is no record in his register of re-instatement of Burton).² Moreover Haynes probably did not give up the benefice without an official order so to do; at least, he seems to have been taking an active part in Canterbury ecclesiastical affairs in December 1559³ and there is no reason to suppose he would not have tried to keep the benefice. Another case was that of Nicholas Power who was admitted to Newington-next-Sittingbourne in 1554 on the deprivation of Robert Howe, a married clergyman.⁴ Power still held the benefice in September 1558⁵ but at the archdiaconal visitation in December 1559 Robert Howe re-appeared as vicar of Newington.⁶

Robert Howe was also able to re-claim Murston (in Sittingbourne deanery), first held after Howe's deprivation by William Stapleford and then by Thomas Ware.⁷ Even though Ware, who was holding the benefice at the time of Mary's death, had not been the direct successor to Howe, Howe nonetheless re-claimed the benefice.⁸ That a definite judicial decision had restored the benefice to Howe is even more probable than in the case of Haynes because Ware, the Marian incumbent, was still present in the diocese in December 1560 even though he no longer held a benefice.⁹ In the spring of 1561 Ware again appeared at the

1. Cal. I.S.V. has no mention of such a re-instatement.
2. Parker's earliest institution to a Canterbury diocese benefice was Thomas Knell to Warehorne on 10 January, 1560. Reg., p. 768.
3. Ibid., pp. 54, 58, 69, 72, et passim; Harpes., p. 190.
4. Cal. I.S.V., p. 90.
5. Harpes., p. 304.
6. Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 146.
7. Cal. I.S.V., p. 87; Harpes., p. 329.
8. Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 147.
9. Cant. MS./Z/3/7, fo. 24v, sub Capel-le-Ferne. 'Thomas Weare' was a reader.

archdiaconal visitation and said that he had not administered the communion in any church since Elizabeth's accession, and that he had subscribed at Sittingbourne at the royal visitation. He said, moreover, that his breviary and missal were at Mistress Roper's place. The judge warned him to appear before him during the trinity sessions of the court at Canterbury and to hand over the breviary and missal and to attend divine service in the parish church of Linsted on Sundays.¹

Two others who lost their offices for similar reasons were Robert Halsall, rector of Smarden, and John Carlyon, Halsall's curate at that rectory.² Another case was that of John Alday. Alday had been collated on 2 March, 1556 to the parish of St. Alphege Canterbury on the deprivation of Humphrey Jurden,³ 'an avowed supporter of the reformation in England'.⁴ In September 1558 Alday still held the rectory, but by May 1560 Alday was gone and Humphrey Jurden was again noted by visitors as the rector of St. Alphege.⁵ Since neither the dean and chapter nor Parker are recorded either as having given Jurden the rectory or as having deprived Alday,⁶ the official action must have been taken by the royal visitors. Finally, two clergymen, vicar Griffin Appowell and curate Robert Browne, lost their offices during the royal visitation---probably because of refusal to take the oath.⁷

In addition to these parochial clergymen there was, among those who

1. Ibid., fo. 37.

2. Harpes., p. 320; Cal. I.S.V., p. 117; Pole, op.cit., fo. 77v; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 150.

3. Pole, op.cit., fo. 70.

4. Sister Mary Justine Peter, op.cit., p. 62.

5. Harpes., Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fos. 1v, 12.

6. Cal. I.S.V. and Reg. record no such changes.

7. Cal. I.S.V., p. 129; Harpes., pp. 309, 332, 346; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 129.

forfeited their offices, prebendary Ralph Jackson. Thomas Willoughby had been deprived of the fifth prebend in 1554 and Ralph Jackson had succeeded him.¹ Jackson still held the benefice on 1 August, 1559, but by 17 September 1560, the next date for which we have information, Thomas Willoughby again held the benefice.² Neither the patent rolls nor Parker's register record presentation of Willoughby to the prebend. He must just have re~~cl~~aimed his property in virtue of the visitors' powers to re~~in~~state those deprived under Mary.

As a group, however, the cathedral six preachers were most affected by the actions of the royal visitors. Of the six preachers who held these benefices as of 17 November, 1558, Edward Burnell alone among them was still incumbent on 17 September 1560. Thomas Burgess had died. Robert Searles, Robert Hill, Nicholas Morton and Robert Willerton were no longer among the group. No record of the latter four being deprived has been found, but we do know that three of those who replaced them, that is, Lancelot Ridley, William Turner and Richard Beseley, had been deprived of the preacherships under Mary and were thus re~~in~~stated with the accession of Elizabeth. The restorations were presumably made by the royal visitors during the summer of 1559. Edward Baker and John Pratt were the two other new men among the preachers. One of them took the place of the deceased Burgess and the other displaced a Marian preacher.³ (All of the ones who lost a six preachership

1. Pole, op.cit., fo. 32; Reg., pp. 21, 631; Le Neve, Fasti, I, 51. Not 'Richard' Willoughby as Le Neve recorded.

2. Ibid., I, 51; Reg., pp. 21, 631.

3. This information was compiled by collating the materials found in Pole, op.cit., fo. 32 (1556 list of preachers), Reg., pp. 631-34 (1560 list of preachers), and incidental information in Cal. I.S.V. and Reg.

with the exception of Robert Willerton, also held parochial benefices and have therefore been counted, for statistical purposes, among the parochial clergy above).

Although several Marian clergy thus lost benefices of which the Edwardian incumbent had been earlier deprived, it should by no means be assumed that with the accession of Elizabeth there was a change in personnel in every benefice in which Mary's officers had deprived an incumbent. On the other hand there were in September 1558 twenty-four clergymen serving cures which had not been lost, it seems,¹ by an Edwardian incumbent under Mary, but those twenty-four were gone by December 1559.² They lost the benefices and cures due to action by the royal visitors. Some of them, such as John Best, refused to subscribe to the oath.³ Some like Clement Norton probably fled the diocese.⁴

1. Due to the stated purpose of this thesis and to limitations of space and time the list of Marian deprivations used herein is not exhaustive but is intended to illustrate the situation Parker faced and does, incidentally, show the close relationship between Elizabethan and earlier events.

2. Anthony Bartell, C. Swinfield, Dover d.; John Best, R. Dymchurch, Lympne d.; John Bewley, C. Iwade, Sutton d.; Thomas Bownell, C. Rayneham, Sutton d.; Patrick Browne, C. Biddenden, Charing d.; Nicholas Blanche, C. Upchurch, Charing d.; Lancelot Gilbanke, C. Mersham, Lympne d.; Alan Grigesby, C. Linton, Sutton d.; James Gloffs (Glothos), C. of Little Chart, Charing d.; John Hitchcocke, C. Fordwich, Canterbury d.; Thomas Hickling, C. Bobbing, Sittingbourne d.; Hugh Kenryck, C. Eastchurch, Sittingbourne d.; Mr. Clement Norton, V. of Faversham, C. Buckland, both in Ospringe d.; Richard Sherrington, V. Folkestone, Dover d.; Robert Shoughe (Show), V. Linsted, Ospringe d.; Thomas Sprynte, V. St. John-in-Thamet, Westbare d.; Henry Swane, C. Bilsington, Lympne d.; Edward Roberts, C. East Sutton, Sutton d.; William Thompson, C. Barham, Bridge d.; Elegidius Wallarte, C. Kingston, Bridge d.; Michael West, V. Hartlip, Sittingbourne d.; Mr. John White, S.T.B., V. Goudhurst, Sutton d.; and Robert Anthony, C. Westwell, Charing d. This list has been compiled from Harpes., Reg., Cal. I.S.V. and Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fos. 124-158v and later visitation returns have been searched for these names.

3. Harpes., p. 317; Cant. MSS/Z/3/5, fo. 156v; /Y/2/24, fo. 22.

4. Cant. MS./X/1/2, fo. 44.

Three others probably had Elizabethan careers in other dioceses¹ and two may have flourished in Canterbury diocese under slightly different names than those used in the Marian records.² Probably many of the sixteen curates among this group of twenty-four simply were not re-hired by an Elizabethan incumbent and therefore disappear from the ecclesiastical records, and at least one of these men, William Thompson, being a married clergyman surely would not have offered any resistance to the Elizabethan settlement anyway.³

In addition to the twenty-four clergy who ceased to serve at some time between September 1558 and December 1559, there were four curates, i.e., Nicholas Hay of Smeeth, Stephen Singuldaye of Charing, Dennis Oddaye of Hucking and Thomas Luntwich of Loose, who were serving cures in 1557, the latest Marian date about which information is available, but were gone by May, 1560, the earliest Elizabethan date about which we have information. Perhaps these four were also affected by the royal visitation.⁴

Some of the Marian ecclesiastics resisted change so strongly that positive evidence does remain, and these men must be counted in addition to those so far cited. Nicholas Harpesfield, though he had lost other offices earlier, still held a prebend in Canterbury cathedral as of 1 August 1559.⁵

1. Richard Sherrington (Harpes., pp. 57, 297, 340; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 137v; Reg., p. 989); John Bewley (Harpes., p. 330; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, sub Iwade, Reg., pp. 297, 596); John White, D.D. (Harpes., p. 324; Reg., pp. 1011, 1154; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 152v, sub Goudhurst; DNB., sub John White). MS./Z/3/8, fo. 15.

2. A Lancelot Gilpin appeared in November 1561 and succeeding years as the curate of Smeeth (Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fo. 15). This may have been the Lancelot Gilbanke who was Marian curate of Mersham. On 8 November 1566 Thomas Sprott was admitted vicar of Boughton Aluph (Reg., p. 461). This may have been the Thomas Sprinte (Sprinte, Spreynt) who was successively curate and vicar of St. John's-in-Thamet under Mary. (Harpes., pp. 297, 88, 345, in that order).

3. Ibid., p. 62.

4. Harpes., pp. 260, 170, 223, 197 (in that order); Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fos. 5v, 6v, 1-7v, in which there is no mention of Hucking or Loose.

5. Reg., p. 21.

On that day, however, he was declared contumacious for non-appearance in connection with Parker's election as archbishop.¹ On 11 and 12 August he was required by the royal visitors (sitting at St. Paul's, London) to give a £200 bond because he had refused to accept the royal injunctions or 'to subscribe to the religion' established.² On 17 September 1559 Harpesfield's successor was presented to the prebend which was said to be 'void by statute'.³ The statute referred to was, presumably, the act of supremacy, and the inference drawn from the phrasing of the presentation, the contents of the act of supremacy and the sequence of events (Harpesfield held the benefice on 1 August, the royal visitation took place later in August and Thomas Becon was presented to Harpesfield's prebend on 17 September) is that Harpesfield had refused to take the oath required of him by the visitors and the benefice in consequence became void, in the phrasing of the act of supremacy, as if 'the partie...refusing were deade'.⁴ The royal visitors were probably the ones who also deprived Harpesfield of the archdeaconry of Canterbury sometime before 13 October 1559.⁵

Lay courts and institutions (other than the royal visitors) were involved in action against three other clerical dissidents during the early months of Elizabeth's reign.

1. J. Strype, *Parker*, I (Oxford, 1821), 103. Hugh Turnbull, Richard Fawcett, Ralph Jackson, Robert Collins, John Knight and Thomas Wood were also declared contumacious for not appearing. It should not be assumed that failure to appear necessarily meant disapproval of the election of Parker. Ecclesiastical court records are full of instances in which men were declared contumacious for non-appearance, and often it was because they could not get to court that day or had been given inadequate or no warning that they were expected to appear. Turnbull, at least, could not have been too stubborn: he held the prebend until his death some time before 21 December 1566 (*Reg.*, p. 827).

2. Strype, *Annals*, I (Oxford, 1820), 251.

3. *C.P.R. Eliz.*, I (1558-60), p. 111.

4. 1 *Eliz.*, c. 1 in *SR*, IV, p. 352.

5. *C.P.R. Eliz.*, I (1558-60), p. 5.

William Baslenden, parson of St. George's Canterbury, preached on the first Sunday in Lent, 1559, doctrine contrary to that acceptable to those in authority in London. Consequently, on 27 February the council asked the mayor of Canterbury to send Baslenden to them and also to send 'someone... that was present whan he spake the lewde wordes layd to hys charge.'¹ On 6 March 1559 the council again wrote to the mayor instructing him to commit Baslenden to ward until such time as he was willing to go to St. George's Canterbury 'and there in humble sorte t[o] acknowledge his follye and recante the same'. If Baslenden remained obstinate the mayor was to let the council know and they would give him (the mayor) further instructions.² Baslenden probably recanted. At any rate he was soon free to attempt to escape to the continent. On 7 May 1559 the council thanked Thomas Keys and William Crispe for apprehending and committing to ward Baslenden who had attempted to cross the sea from Dover. The council instructed Keys and Crispe to set Baslenden at liberty providing he could find sureties for his good behavior and promise not to depart the realm without a licence. If sureties could not be found the mayor was to keep Baslenden in prison pending further instructions.³ That is the last record of Baslenden we have and thus another member of the Marian clergy was removed from an official position in Canterbury diocese before Parker became archbishop. - A similar case was that of 'Sir Loye', the curate of All Saints, Canterbury. Loye ceased to serve in the diocese⁴, but Peter Hall, who showed initial resistance, became reconciled to the settlement.⁵

1. APC., VII (1558-⁷⁰~~59~~), 62.

2. Ibid., 63.

3. Ibid., 100.

4. Ibid., 63; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, sub All Saints.

5. Harpes., pp. 312, 322; P.R.O./Assizes 35/1/6, documents 13 and 14. APC., VII (1558-59), 90; Reg., pp. 404, 788; AC., XXX (1914), 182; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 24v.

In summary, a significant group of the Marian clergy ceased, some time during the sede vacante period, to serve in the diocese of Canterbury: of the approximately 235 clergymen who were serving in the diocese of Canterbury at the time of Mary's death ^{eighty-nine} had disappeared from the scene before Parker had to take effective control of his diocese. The numbers of the Marian clergy had been reduced by about one-third (a change which Gee¹ missed), and by about January 1560 only 146 of the Marian clergy remained.

Potential conservative resistance was further weakened in the sede vacante period by the infusion into the diocese of a significant group of clergy who had not served under Mary. For example, among the 144 clergy noted as serving approximately 215 cures visited by the archdeacon's official in December 1559, thirty-two or thirty-three had not been serving in the diocese fourteen months earlier.² At least some of these new men, who comprised nearly twenty-five per cent of the clergymen accounted for at that visitation, were reformist in outlook.

1. Gee, op.cit.

2. Cant. MS./Z/3/5: Mr. Grave, R. Halden, fo. 151; Richard Fletcher, C. Cranbrook, fo. 149v; _____ Knell, C. Kenarton and R. Warehorne, fos. 158v, 155v; John Griffin, C. Selling, fo. 156; Gregory Doddes, R. Smarden, fo. 150; Richard Dunslake, C. Rolvynden, fo. 151; William Lancaster, R. Pluckley, fo. 149v; Thomas Pett, C. Kennington who was said to have left the parish, fo. 151; Thomas Uden, C. Biddenden, fo. 151; Anthony Burden, V. Marden, fo. 155; --- Marten, C. Frensted, fo. 154; William Boys, C. Harrietsham, C. St. Peter's Sandwich, fos. 154, 134; Richard Beseley, R. Staplehurst, fo. 153; Thomas Willoughby, R. Bishopsbourne, fo. 129v; Adrian Waterdale, C. Crondale, fo. 130v; Humphrey Jordan, R. Stourmouth; fo. 131; James Peers, V. Beakesbourne, fo. 130; John Ennyver, C. Eastlangdon, fo. 134v; Henry Wood, V. Hougham, fo. 138; Nicholas Calver, V. Faversham, fo. 143; _____ Ellis, V. Linsted, fo. 143; Thomas Brasted, C. Linsted, V. Doddington, fos. 143, 144; John Madell, C. Stal-lisfield, fo. 144; John Abbie, C. Otterden, fo. 145v; _____ Clerk, V. Sitting-bourne, fo. 146; Robert Howe, V. Newington, fo. 146; Edward Crake, C. Upchurch, fo. 149; William Clerk, C. Bobbing, fo. 149; William King, C. Whitstable, fo. 127v; William Lotte, V. Hackington, fo. 126; Thomas Panton, C. All Saints, C. St. Dunstan, both in Canterbury city, fo. 125; William Lott, C. Holy Cross, Canterbury city, fo. 125. The one uncertain one was Thomas Carden, C. St. Paul's Canterbury who may have been Thomas Carden the Marian V. of Elham (Ibid., fo. 124v; Harpes., p. 342).

(ii) PARKER AND THE MARIAN CLERGY, 1560FF.

Eighty-nine of the 235 Marian clergy were thus gone by January 1560, but Parker still had 146 of them with whom to work. This section will be devoted in the main, first, to an examination of the significance of the deaths, resignations, and deprivations of Canterbury clergymen between, approximately, January 1560 and January 1563. Secondly, there will be an analysis of some of the qualities of those Marian clergymen who were still serving in the diocese in 1563.

Between September 1560 and January 1563 thirteen¹ of the remaining 146 Marian clergy had died. Some of the thirteen probably would not have resisted Parker's policies even if they had lived longer. Thus, Richard Forde probably would not have opposed a regime which allowed him again to co-habit with his wife.² (During Mary's reign Forde and his wife had been obliged to live

1. Those who had died were Edward Buckley, R. Wittersham, ob. before 28 Nov., 1562 (Harpes., p. 150; Reg., p. 798); John Brittain, will as V. Sturry made before 23 Feb., 1562 (Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/38, fo. 132); Robert Charles, R. St. Peter's Sandwich and C. Wingham, probably ob. before 1562 (Harpes., pp. 302, 304, 74, 350 (in that order); C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 21v; John Crofte, R. Deal, ob. before 2 Feb., 1562 (Harpes., p. 35n; Reg., pp. 404, 786); Thomas Chapman, V. Brenzett, ob. before 12 Dec., 1562 (Harpes., p. 318; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 157; Reg., p. 798); Clerk, V. Lyming, probably ob. before 1562 (Harpes., p. 59; Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fos. 16v, 42v and 43; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 23v); Richard Forde, R. Denton, C. Wotton and V. Selling, ob. before 5 Nov., 1560 (Harpes., pp. 343 and 61n; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 140; Reg., p. 772); William Herringe, V. Littlebourne, ob. before 9 Nov., 1562 (Reg., p. 798); Thomas Hewett, V. Reculver-cum-Hoth (resigned before 10 May, 1560) and V. Cosmos Blean Canterbury, ob. before 20 Feb., 1561 (Harpes., p. 89; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 160; Reg., p. 777); Edward Knight, R. Lower Harges Canterbury, ob. before 29 Oct., 1560 (Reg., p. 772); Robert Luernes, C. Molash, ill in 1559 and 1560 and probably died before 1562 (Harpes., p. 348; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 131v; Cant. MS./Z/3/7, fos. 5v, 123); Stephen Pole, V. Chart-next-Sutton, R. Boughton Monchelsea, ob. before 4 Sept., 1561 (Harpes., pp. 200, 326; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 154v; Reg., pp. 388, 787, 783); and Richard Waters (Walter), S.T.B., V. Benenden, ob. before 10 Nov., 1561 (Harpes., pp. 322, 179; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 151; Reg., p. 785).

2. Harpes., pp. 61, 78, 299 and 343.

separately.) John Crofte received at least one Elizabethan promotion before he died (though this promotion may not have indicated that he accepted the reformers' ideas, but rather that he was a man of whom the relatively conservative cathedral chapter, his patrons, approved).¹ Stephen Pole, whatever he thought of the new regime, seems to have taken no chance that he might lose his benefice. He was re-admitted on 14 March, 1560 to a benefice which he had held during the Marian reign. He wanted to be certain it was not returned to the Edwardian incumbent upon whose deprivation he had originally been admitted.² John Brittain had, before he died, performed his duty of appearing regularly at the archdiaconal visitations and in the preamble to his will he wrote of Elizabeth as Queen 'by the grace of God'. Very few surviving Marian clergy in the diocese were sufficiently convinced of that to include it in their wills. Brittain's bequest of his 'soul to almighty God [his] creator, and to [his] redeemer and saviour Jesus Christ' was non-committal in that it indicated neither a definitely Calvinist nor a definitely Roman Catholic position. The only homage which the phraseology of Brittain's will paid to tradition was mention of his 'month's mind', but that may have been merely a convenient expression.³

Not all of the thirteen Marian clergy who died between 1560 and 1563 would have been, had they lived, as favourably disposed to the new regime as Forde, Crofte, Pole and Brittain seem to have been. Strong evidence survives,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 345; *Cal. I.S.V.*, p. 39.

2. *Harpes.*, pp. 200, 326; *Reg.*, p. 770.

3. *Maidstone MS./ P.R.C./17/38*, fo. 132; *Cant. MS./Z/3/5*, fos. 126, 160.

'Month's mind' meant the 'commemoration of a deceased person by the celebration of masses, etc., on a day one month from the date of his death.' (*OED*).



for example, that clergyman Thomas Chapman died in prison.¹ Another case was that of Henry Clerk. In 1561 he was said to be 'negligent in teaching the catechisme and the youth very slack in repairing to him'. He confessed that the charge was true and was in consequence warned by the judge (of the consistory court) to be diligent in instructing the parishioners. At the same time objections were raised to the bell-ringing which was allowed in Clerk's parish.² Then too, a trained theologian such as Richard Waters could have offered strong resistance to change. His patrons the Guldefords were among the recusant gentry of Parker's diocese and they may have chosen Waters (to whom they had originally given the benefice of Benenden in 1545) because his religious outlook corresponded to their own.³

Then there were the Marian clergy who resigned. Between September 1560 and January 1563, nine⁴ of the remaining Marian clergy resigned or voluntarily

1. Harpes., p. 318; Reg., p. 798; Cant. MSS./Z/3/5, fo. 157; /X/1/4, fos. 63v-65.
2. Harpes., p. 59; Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fos. 16v, 42v, 43; in which the words 'curate' and 'vicar' were used interchangeably. Clerk was vicar from at least 1552 to 1561.
3. Harpes., p. 179; Reg., p. 785 for Guldeford patronage. For other material on recusancy in Kent see P.R.O./S.P./12/1, fos. 138v-139 (1558: attainted nobles and others restored by Mary); /E/178/1076 (1562: fugitives beyond the seas from Kent); /S.P./12/59, fos. 139, 141, 168 (1569: bond of William Roper and subscription of other J.P.'s); /S.P./12/409 (1574: a list of Roman Catholics and heretics in England; cf. Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz. (1547-80), p. 492, number 55); B.M. MS./Lansd./21, fo. 34 (1575: a child educated by Lady Guldeford would grow up, her brother-in-law wrote, papistical and idolatrous).
4. George Atkinson res. Cranbrook before 17 Oct., 1561 (Reg., p. 784; Harpes., p. 122. The editors of ibid. have conflated George Atkinson and a John Atkinson who was Edwardian vicar of Betrisden (pp. 122, 182).); William Dobynson res. V. St. Mary Bredin Canterbury before 21 May, 1560; also res. R. Wotton before 15 July, 1560 (Reg., pp. 781, 773 (in that order)); Ralph Dowell res. V. Bapchild before 14 Nov., 1560, and no longer C. St. Margaret's Canterbury by November 1561 (Reg., p. 776; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 21v); Bartholomew Inkpen res. Milton near Canterbury before Nov. 1561 (Harpes., pp. 296, 399; Reg., p. 808; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 20v); John Johnson vacated Herne before 21 Dec., 1562 (Harpes., pp. 92, 346; Reg., p. 798); Richard Pratte res. Biddenden before 31 Jan., 1560 (Harpes., p. 322; Reg., p. 769); Nicholas Wendon lost Minster, before 20 Oct., 1561 (Harpes., p. 345; Reg., p. 784; Lambeth MS./S.R./78/4, fo. 21v); Robert Wamersley res. Newenden before 27 April, 1562 (Reg., p. 788; Harpes., p. 311). A John Wymmersley, natural brother of bishop Bonner, was a prebendary of St. Paul's London, from 1541 (Mullins, op.cit., p. 81); Alexander Burton lost Colred in the early years of Parker's administration (Lambeth MS./'Registrum Cranmeri', p. 353; VE, I, 45;

Continued on next page.

abandoned all their benefices in Canterbury diocese. Some left because they could (or would) not comply with the statutes regulating pluralism and non-residence---statutes which were more consistently enforced under Parker than they had been under his predecessors. William Dobyson, for example, had been non-resident Marian rector of Wotton and vicar of St. Mary Bredin Canterbury. By mid-July 1560 he had resigned Wotton; he had resigned, or perhaps merely abandoned, St. Mary Bredin by 21 May, 1561.¹ Bartholomew Inkpen had not found it necessary to reside or to appear at visitations during Mary's reign, but with the more efficient administration of Parker he found it expedient, in the early 1560's, to resign his Canterbury benefice and he did not again serve in the diocese.² Ralph Dowell, warned by the Elizabethan visitors to take up residence, preferred to let his benefice go.³ Some, such as Nicholas Wendon, Ll.D., and Alexander Burton (Barton) risked (and lost) their Canterbury benefices because they wanted a better (or different) position. Wendon preferred a Norwich prebend to Minster vicarage and in consequence of Wendon's refusal to take up residence at Minster Parker had another clergyman put in Wendon's place at Minster. Parker also resisted Wendon's further pretensions to the benefice.⁴ The case of John Johnson was somewhat different: he wanted to reside but could not. That is, he had been resident vicar of Herne under Mary and appeared at the ordinary visitations of 1560 and 1561.⁵ At the latter visitation, however, it was

Harpes., pp. 44, 303; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fos. 135v, 163; Reg., pp. 804, 841).

1. Cant. MS./X/1/2, fo. 28v; Reg., p. 781.

2. Harpes., pp. 296, 339; Reg., p. 808.

3. Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fos. 146, 175; Reg., p. 776.

4. Cant. MSS./Z/3/7, fo. 21v; Le Neve, II, 499. Norwich cathedral was no haven for a conservative and it seems unlikely Wendon would have gone there to avoid pro-protestant changes. That is, he probably lost his Canterbury benefice for administrative rather than doctrinal reasons.

5. Harpes., pp. 92, 346; Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fos. 3, 29v.

declared that he was neither hospitable nor resident at Herne but lived at Canterbury.¹ On 27 May, 1560 Johnson appeared and confessed to the truth of the presentment, but said 'that he dare not [reside] for that Mr. John Fenen[er] did beate him about twoo yeres past by reason whereof he hath been in a manner lamed.' The judge thereupon ordered 'Fynen[er]' cited to appear on the following court day.² Unfortunately the court deposition does not indicate whether the parishioner beat the vicar because he disagreed with Johnson's religious ideas or for other reasons. All that is certain is that Johnson did not return to his benefice. A new incumbent was collated on 21 December, 1562 at which time the cause of vacancy was left unstated and Johnson, who died in Canterbury diocese in 1571 leaving an estate valued at at least £19 6s, did not serve a Canterbury cure after 1562.³

Some of the Marian clergy did quit the diocese for religious reasons. One of these was George Atkinson who seems to have found a chaplaincy in conservative Corpus Christi College, Oxford, more congenial to his religious temperament than a vicarage in increasingly protestant Kent.⁴ Richard Pratte also seems to have resigned for religious reasons---at least, he failed to take the oath before the royal visitors and shortly thereafter ceased to serve in the diocese.⁵

Atkinson, Dobynson, Dowell, Inkpen, Johnson, Pratte, Burton, Wendon and Wymersley ceased, more or less voluntarily, to serve in the diocese, but there were at least sixteen others of the Marian clergy who were, between 1560 and 1563, either deprived or in some other way forced to stop serving in the diocese.

1. Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fo. 21.

2. Ibid., fo. 29v.

3. Reg., p. 798; Woodruff, Records in the Diocese of Canterbury, p. 234.

4. Harpes., p. 320; Reg., p. 784; Birt, op.cit., p. 275.

5. Harpes., p. 322; Reg., p. 769; Cant. MSS./Z/3/5, fos. 151, 161; /X/8/5, fo. 29v.

Some of these sixteen, such as Robert Collins,¹ Robert Searles,² and Pole's erstwhile Chaplain John Knight³ probably could have given leadership in resisting the implementation of the Settlement in Canterbury diocese. Curates such as Tangued Bealike, on the other hand, probably could not have done so.⁴

Leadership was, by the early years of Parker's administration, lacking among the remaining Marian clergy in the diocese of Canterbury. Of a group of 96 of the Marian clergy still serving in the diocese in November 1561⁵ only
(please see two pages forward.)

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1. Reg., p. 770; Le Neve, I, 53; AC., XXXI (1915), 94-95.
 2. Foster, AO., 1330; Sister Mary Justine Peter, pp. 128-34; Cant. MSS./Z/3/8, fos. 3v, 21v; /X/8/5, fo. 86; Lambeth MS./S.R./78/4, fo. 23; Reg., p. 786; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/41, fos. 26-29. Cf. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/39, fos. 132-34 for the will of conservative Christopher Badcock.
 3. Le Neve, I, 56; Reg., p. 772; Pole, op.cit., fo. 77v; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fos. 150v, 172v.
 4. Harpes., p. 221; AC., XXXI, 119-120; Cant. MS./Y/2/24, front cover and fos. 54v, 59v-61v. The other twelve who were removed were, first of all, Thomas Wood, Robert Hill, John Porter, Christopher Hawkes, William Elye, John Lawson, John More (Mere) and Thomas Alston (Gee, p. 273). Garnet and Cole, listed by Gee, held benefices in peculiars not in the diocese proper and Slanney (Stanney) resigned Preston rather than being deprived of it and so those four on Gee's list do not enter into our calculations. (Harpes., pp. 231, 308, 333; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 136v; Reg., p. 773). See also on the men of whom Gee wrote Reg., pp. 21, 404, 768, 769, 771, 772, 776, 780-781, 783, 787, 798, 810; Harpes., pp. 22, 87, 106, 298, 302, 308, 319, 333, 342, 345, 347; Le Neve, I, 59, 61; C.P.R. Eliz., I (1558-60), 254, 429; Cant. MSS./Z/3/5, fos. 127v, 128, 130v, 134-37, 144v, 165; /Y/2/20, fos. 43, 46v; /Y/2/24, fo. 8v, 68v; /X/8/5, fo. 63; /X/1/3, fo. 123v; /Z/3/7, fos. 3v, 20v; Lambeth MS./S.R./78/4, fos. 16v, 21. The others of the twelve were Edward Burnell (Reg., pp. 634, 662), Thomas Thompson (Ibid., p. 787; Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fos. 6v, 30v; Harpes., pp. 111, 349), Edward Parratt (ibid., pp. 279, 333; AC., XXI, 147; Cant. MSS./X/1/2, fo. 42v; /Y/2/24, fos. 84, 98v; Reg., pp. 314, 595) and Jasper Hopkins (ibid., pp. 354, 355, 388; Gee, Clergy, p. 277; Cant. MSS./Z/3/5, fo. 127v; /X/8/5, fo. 9; Lambeth MS./S.R./78/4, fo. 24v).
 5. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 19-29v has ninety-two of the remaining Marian clergy but omits curates such as George Dunham, Andrew Pettinden, Richard Poshe and Robert Pyborn. The graduates were John Warner, M.D., Hugh Turnbull, S.T.D., Nicholas Wotton, S.T.D., D.C.L., John Day, S.T.B., Thomas Langley, S.T.B., John Mylles, S.T.B., Roger Jones, Ll.B., Ralph Whytling, B.C.L., William Darrell, M.A., Thomas Carden, M.A., Thomas Caylie, MA., Richard Kete, M.A., Gervasius Lynche, M.A., William Marshall, M.A., John Armerar, M.A., Richard Rogers, M.A., Robert Greenhood, M.A., John Robson, B.A., and Peter Place, B.A. Graduates among the Marian clergy who had already passed from the scene by November 1561 were William Elye, Nicholas Harpesfield, Thomas Henden, John Knight, Clement Norton, Robert Searles and Nicholas Wendon.

Matters were also somewhat similarly amiss at non-resident John Armerar's parish of Ivychurch, but at least Armerar (M.A.) managed to provide a proxy to appear in his stead at ordinary visitations,¹ ~~though~~ ^{and} Armerar continued to hold the benefice until his death in 1563. Thomas Langley, S.T.B., prebendary of Winchester and rector of Boughton Malherbe was infrequently at the latter, though when he was there he seemed to take a conservative stand. Thus, in 1561 there were complaints that he did 'not instruct us [the parishioners] to avoid superstition', that he did not exhort his parishioners to avoid praying on beads, that he had (under Mary) performed the marriage ceremony without the banns asked, and that he did not see to it that the parishioners had sermons.² Langley was forced to resign Boughton Malherbe by 1564 in spite of a court of faculties dispensation of the previous year to hold two benefices.³ Marian clergyman William Darrell, M.A., was the most notorious of the Canterbury non-residents of Parker's administration. In the latter years of Parker's administration Darrell had to give up some benefices but he did continue to give some trouble almost until his death in 1580.⁴ Two other Marian graduates who were resident only part of the time, dean Nicholas Wotton and prebendary Hugh Turnbull, were able to keep their Canterbury benefices. Turnbull, who was also dean of Chichester, was able in some way to fulfill his Canterbury residence requirements

1. Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fos. 5v, 15v. Cf. Reg., p. 801; Mullins, *op.cit.*, pp. 304-5; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 28v; Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*, LVII and p. 80; Sister Mary Justine Peter, *op.cit.*, p. 212; Harpes., pp. 254, 157; Cal. I.S.V., p. 65; Venn, AC., I, i, 40; P.C.C./1563/13 Chayne.

2. Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 68v.

3. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 24v; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 150v; P.R.O./S.P./12/76, fo. 31; Reg., pp. 449, 807. Cf. Cant. MSS./X/8/5, fo. 57v; /X/1/5, fo. 3; Harpes., p. 321; Foster, AO., I, iii, 879.

4. Cant MSS./Z/3/8, fos. 5v, 15v; /X/1/2, fo. 14; /X/1/3, fos. 49v, 96v; Cal. I.S.V., p. 25; Lambeth MSS./723, fo. 11; /'Registrum Grindali', fo. 535; Reg., pp. 358, 387, 841, 804, 811, 1103, 1098; Corresp., p. 319; Grindal, *Remains*, PP.S. (Cambridge, 1843), 292; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 19, 20v, 22; DNB., sub Darel; below, pp. 201-10, 371-72.

nineteen were graduates. Moreover, five¹ of the nineteen graduates were not resident in the diocese and thus could not lead local resistance to change. Two others resided only part of the time. (Incidentally, the non-residence of some of these men gave rise to several administrative problems too). One of the five was John Warner, M.D., first regius professor of anatomy at Oxford. He was influential enough to retain Elmeley and Harrietsham rectories, in spite of his non-residence, until his death in 1565.² Another non-resident was William Marshall, M.A., rector of Mersham, who also held an Essex benefice and lived in London diocese.³ Both the archdiaconal and consistory courts several times took cognizance of Marshall's non-residence, of his failure to provide Mersham with sermons for periods of a year or more, of his negligence in distributing food to the poor, of his failure to appear at ordinary visitations and of irregularities in connection with the observation of Saints' days.⁴ In January 1564 Parker's lieutenants sequestered the fruits of Mersham 'pr[a]esertim eo quod ecclesia...per aliquod tempus inofficiata extit', and in April, Marshall having died, a new incumbent was collated to the benefice.⁵

1. Richard Rogers, Marian incumbent of Otterden, was a student. The revenues of his Marian benefice helped to pay university expenses. Having been ordained by Bullingham (acting as proxy for Parker) in March 1560, and having obtained an Oxford M.A. in May 1560, he took up residence in Canterbury diocese (as rector of Eastling) shortly after Parker became archbishop and until his death in 1574 was a supporter of the Settlement and a conscientious curate of souls. He has not been counted among the non-resident surviving Marian clergy. (Harpes., pp. 230, 309, 335; Reg., p. 343; Foster, AO., p. 1275; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 26v. John Abbey, apparently, re-claimed Otterden on the accession of Elizabeth (ibid., fo. 26v). This Richard Rogers should not be confused with the suffragan of Dover.)

2. DNB., sub John Warner; Reg., pp. 811, 819, 820.

3. Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 34v; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 27v.

4. Cant. MSS./X/1/3, fo. 34v; /X/8/5, fos. 4v, 65v, 83v; /Z/3/7, fo. 17.

5. Reg., pp. 425, 806; cf. ibid., p. 342; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fos. 169, 171; Foster, AO., I, iii, 975; and Harpes., pp. 103, 317 where the editors seem to have confused two William Marshalls.

until the time of his death in 1564.¹ So, in spite of his diplomatic and other responsibilities, did Wotton. The statutes of the cathedral provided for a deputy-dean and did not require continual residence; nevertheless, though Wotton was sometimes absent, his signature appears at the foot of many of the pages of the act books of the dean and chapter. To his credit, moreover, he held no parochial benefice.²

Thus, few of the well-trained Marian clergy were available to give conservative leadership in the diocese. In addition, the convictions of the surviving Marian clergy (graduates and non-graduates) do not appear to have been strong or distinctive enough to set them completely apart from the other clergy. For example, of a sample of twenty-two Canterbury Marian clergy whose wills were proved during Parker's administration, only those of Robert Searles³ and Christopher Badcock⁴ even mentioned the Virgin Mary. 'I bequeath my soul' to almighty God, Badcock wrote,

'...trusting to be saved by his great mercy and by the merytts of the moste blessed bludd, deathe and passyon of my savyor and redemer Jhesus Christe, my soule to be presented unto him by the intercessyon and prayer of the most blessed vyrgyn Mary, mother of our savyor and redeamer Jhesus Christe and by the intercessyon & prayer of all the holy company of heaven and by the intercessyon and prayer of the holye catholycke church of Chryste whom I beseche all to pray for me.'⁵

1. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 19; Le Neve, I, 57, 257.
2. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 19; Cant. MS./'Acta Capituli 1561-68'; B.M. MS./Harl. /1197, fos. 318-340v.
3. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/41, fos. 26-29.
4. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/39, fos. 132-34; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 29v. The other wills examined were those of Christopher Waddington, Thomas Wilson, Geoffrey Wilson, James Reman, Richard Roberts, Peter Place, Richard Kete, John Kitchen, Roger Jackson, Roger Jones, Gilbert Hearon, William Harwood, Thomas Hardwicke, Robert Greenhood, John Davy, Richard Burcharde, Ralph Blunt, Robert Brown, Reginald Beake, and Roger Appowell.
5. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/39, fo. 132.

The majority of the twenty-two said simply that they bequeathed their souls to God, and when they did say more it was usually of God as their maker, of hopes to be saved by the merits of Jesus Christ only, or of Jesus Christ as their only saviour and redeemer---all of which ideas would have been perfectly acceptable to the pre-Trentine church and to Parker himself.

By 1561 fifty-seven (or over half) of the surviving Marian clergy had a vested interest in the theological precepts of the Settlement: they had married.¹ There were among the survivors many pluralists (at least thirty-four as of 1561²) and few preachers---i.e. few who had a platform from which to attack, if they wished, the Settlement. All fourteen of the Marian clergy who were, as of 1561, preachers, resided in the diocese.³ One of them, John Mylls, preached on rare occasions only, and only two of the group, i.e. William Watson and John Day, preached in other than their own benefices. Both of these men were criticised by their parishioners for their inefficiency or conservatism.⁴ There was considerable local agitation to have John Day, who had taken an active part

1. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 19-29v. Cf. M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism (Chicago, 1939), p. 49; Cant. MSS./X/8/5, loose paper and fo. 31v (regarding Peter Hall); /Y/2/24, fos. 59v-61v (regarding Tanguede Bealik).

2. There were also thirty-seven (many of whom were pluralists) who were not hospitable. They were Gilbert Herne, Dunstan Goodhew, Michael (Thomas) Elgar, John Clerk, John Lewgar, Peter Hall, John Newberrie, Anthony Rogers, Henry Raynesforth, Robert Newberrie, John Reman, William Quythyn, Richard Roberts, John Hall, William Harwood, Clement Gregory, John Fuller, John Day, John Salisbury, Christopher James, Nicholas Champion, John Taylor, Thomas Fisher, Thomas Sanden, John Warner, Thomas Oliver, David Cotton, William Man, John Birke, Martin Collins, Ralph Whytling, John Armerar and William Marshall. Cf. G. Baskerville, English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries (London, 1937), pp. 25-29 on the question of hospitality.

3. John Day, S.T.B., John Mylls, S.T.B., Richard Kete, M.A., Richard Rogers, M.A., Peter Place, B.A., Thomas Caylie, M.A., Gervas Lynche, M.A., Thomas Langley, S.T.B. and John Robson (Robinson), B.A., Christopher Waddington, William Watson, David Cotton, Thomas Burton, and Thomas Wilson.

4. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 19. 22, 23; Harpes., p. 141; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 164.

in the burning of five Maidstone people and who was probably the ex-abbot of the Cistercian House of Bordesley, Worcs., removed. In 1566 John Hall and other Maidstone parishioners wrote directly to Parker (perhaps as a member of the high commission) asking him to take cognizance of the case of John Day their curate. Day had been curate of Maidstone from the early part of the reign of Mary and had preached against five people burned at Maidstone. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, friends and relatives of the martyrs wanted to clear of the charge of heresy the reputations of the martyrs and they urged Day to declare the innocence of the dead and to declare in public his error. Day said that he would, but on the following Sunday he declared from the pulpit that he could not remember what he had said at the execution and added that some of the martyrs had denied 'the humanity of Christe and the equalite of the trinitie'. If the martyrs had in fact held these beliefs, doctrines which were heretical in the eyes of both Roman Catholics and protestants, there would have been no way of clearing their reputations. However, when Day was asked which of the martyrs had said these things he was at first at a loss for words and then huffily admitted that none of them had held those opinions. When Day was asked why he had spread such a rumour, he called his interrogators hypocrites and asked them whether they too were not men and whether they had never lied to get out of a corner. Both this action and Day's tippling ways prompted the parishioners to appeal directly to the archbishop---an appeal which may have been successful.¹

Service under Mary did not preclude a long, and sometimes distinguished, career in the Elizabethan diocese. John Harris, for example, served as domestic chaplain to Lord Cobham (as well as a parochial clergyman) under Elizabeth, and ---

1. Venn, AC., I, ii, 23; B.M. MS./Harl./416, fos. 123-124; Strype, Parker, I, 468-471; J. Cave-Browne, All Saints' Maidstone (Maidstone, late nineteenth century), pp. 115-116; DNB., sub Day. For resistance to Gilbert Hearon, non-graduate rector of Elmsted, see Harpes., pp. 17, 299, 343; Cant. MSS/X/8/5, fo. 1; X/1/2, fos. 27-27v; Y/2/24, fo. 82; Reg., p. 810; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/40, fos. 90-91.

Marian clergyman William Harwood was in 1569 administering the communion in common bread---a practice sometimes considered puritanical.¹ Nevertheless, by 1569 only twenty or thirty of the Marian clergy were still serving in the diocese,² and by June, 1576, a year after Parker's death, only about fifteen of those who had been serving in the diocese in November 1558 were still serving.³ Of the fifteen one resigned before 9 November, 1576.⁴ Two others died before 15 November, 1578 (at which time they were still holding their benefices).⁵ In 1579 there was an upheaval of some sort at the time of the archdeacon's visitation (106 of the clergy of the archdeaconry failed to appear at the autumn visitation), but at least four of the Marian clergy, William Mercer, William Darrell, Gervasius Lynche and Thomas Oliver were listed as still serving their old cures.⁶ Gervasius Lynche resigned before 21 November, 1580 and William Darrell died in the same year.⁷

The subsequent careers of the eight Marian clergymen who were still serving in Canterbury diocese after 1580 have not been traced in detail, but two of the Marian clergy, Robert Hill and John Taylor, were described by Whitgift in 1584 as 'conformeable' preachers.⁸ By 1591 the benefices of six of the eight

1. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/5.

2. Among these were Henry Hevisde, William Harwood, Richard Kyrry, Thomas Oliver, William Darrell, Richard Rogers, Nicholas Champion, Clement Gregory, John Pickard, John Fuller, Thomas Burton, Robert Pyborn, Roland Jackson, Wilfred Wilson, William Lambe, John Harris, Peter Place, Robert Greenhood, Roger Appowell, Robert Hill, John Taylor and Thomas Carden. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, *passim*.

3. Cant. MS./Z/7/1, fos. 1-22. They were Robert Hill, R. of Crondale, William Darrell, rector of Stelling and Great Hardres, Henry Hevisde, vicar of Bridge and St. Paul's, Canterbury, Gervasius Lynche, V. Preston-next-Wingham, _____ Atkinson, C. Nackington, Canterbury, William Mercer, R. Hawking, John Taylor, R. Waldershare, Thomas Oliver, R. Kingsnoth, Nicholas Champion, R. Little Chart, John Harris, R. Wormshill, Roland Jackson, R. Kingesdown and Milkested, and William Lambe, V. Hartlip. Thomas Carden, V. Elham, ob. before 27 July, 1577, should perhaps be included in this group (Lambeth MS./'Registrum Grindali', fo. 516).

4. *Ibid.*, fo. 512 (Nicholas Champion).

5. *Ibid.*, fos. 516, 523 (Roland Jackson and Thomas Carden).

6. Cant. MS./Z/7/1, last folio.

7. Lambeth MS./'Registrum Grindali', fo. 545; *DNB*.

8. B.M. MS./Addit./34, 729, fos. 50v-51.

were held by new men.¹ Concerning John Harris information for this date has not been found. William Mercer, the eighth of the group, a man who had first been admitted to Hawking on 20 April, 1543, was still serving that cure in the spring of 1591. He died in office before 27 November of the same year² having performed the phenomenal feat not only of serving the churches as established by Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, but also of having avoided arousing the fatal ire of Cranmer, Pole, Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift.

1. Robert Hill had been replaced at Crondall by Ralph Johnson, Henry Hevisede at Bridge and Patricxbourne by Rawson, John Taylor at Waldershare by Redman as curate, and Thomas Oliver and William Lambe had also vanished from the record (Cant. MS./Z/7/2, fos. 1-27v, especially fos. 1v, 2,3,7v, 24, 27v).

2. Ibid., fo. 16v; Harpes., p. 56n.

CHAPTER V

THE CLERGY.

(1) NEW ORDINANDS.

In the first eight months of his administration Parker provided for the ordination of 233 men. One hundred and five of these men were ordained to the priesthood, usually by way of the diaconate, and 128 to the diaconate only.¹

Compared with earlier and later periods this was an unusually large number of ordinations to be done in such a short time. In contrast with these 233 ordained by Parker (by which is always meant 'Parker by proxy') in the first eight months of his administration stand the less than fifty whom he ordained in the remaining fifteen years of his archiepiscopacy. Archbishop Chichele in the fifteenth century, to contrast the example of an earlier administration for which we have the statistics, had seldom ordained more than fifty men in any given year and many of those fifty

1. Reg., pp. 338-353. Though there was no reason in law or custom why Parker should not have performed the ordinations in person, he instead commissioned, at different times, bishops Scory, Bullingham, Alley and Berkeley. Cf. The Registers of Henry Chichele, ed. E.F. Jacob, I (Oxford, 1943), lxix-lxxii and I. Churchill, Canterbury Administration, I (London, 1933), 96-104

were absorbed by the monasteries.¹

The ordination of so many men so early in his administration was an emergency measure; it was done because there was, as visitation records show, a 'great want of ministers'.² Perhaps, however, the new ordinands were 'clapt out' in too great haste: Bullingham acting on Parker's behalf, for example, ordained 150 men in one day and Grindal had ordained, before August 1560, 100 men for work in his diocese of London.³ At least ten days before Bullingham ordained the 150 men for Parker, Parker had decreed that he intended

'to celebrate hollie orders of deacon and presthood generallie to all such as shall be found thereunto apte and mete for there lerning and godlie conversation, bringing with them sufficient letters testimoniall, as well of their vertuous lyving and honest demeanor in those places where they nowe dwell and have dwelled by the space of three yeres last past, as also other thinges by the lawes in this behalfe requisite to be had and shewed.'

Parker went on to decree that he and his officers intended at the same time 'to sitte vppon the appositions and examinations of them that shall come to be admitted to the saied orders.' Moreover, in his commissions to ordain Parker specifically stated that candidates for holy orders had

1. Reg., pp. 385, 386, 389, 403, 418, 420, 597, 601, 611, 678, 1086; Jacob, op. cit., I, lxix. Though no positive evidence has been found which would suggest that Reg. is deficient in its record of Parker's administration, it is possible that after 1569 bishop suffragan Rogers was responsible for diocesan ordinations and kept a separate record (now lost). John Ewine the vicar of Wandsworth in Surrey told Whitgift in 1584: 'I was made minister when archbishop Parker was first created archbishop and when the old bishop of Bangor (who made me minister at the archbishop's commaundement in the Bowe Church at London) was the only bishoppe in England.' The Second Parte of a Register, ed. A. Peel, I (Cambridge, 1915), 249. On Edwyn see Reg., p. 339.

2. Corresp., p. 120; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fos. 125-159v; /Z/3/8, fos. 1-11v; C.C.C.C. MS/580, fos. 19-29v.

3. 'An Admonition to the Parliament', in Puritan Manifestos, ed. W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas (London, 1907/1954), p. 10; Reg., pp. 341-342; W.H. Frere, The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I (London, 1904) p. 60.

to be 'clericos vite honestate morum probitate et sacrarum litterarum eruditione sufficienter insignitos'.¹ We have, however, no definite evidence that Parker did examine the candidates in person. One wonders how much attention was given to the formalities required by canon law and the Prayer Book,² and certainly some of the ordinands of 1559 and 1560 were shortly to be the cause of some episcopal concern.

Parker pointed out to Grindal in August, 1560, that both of them, and their brother bishops, in an attempt to provide a 'tolerable supply' of ministers, had 'admitted unto the ministry sundry artificers and others, not traded and brought up in learning' and, because so many were ordained at once, 'some that were of base occupations'. Parker stated that many thought that the admission of these men had done more 'hurt than good' to the cause of the Gospel because it was found that 'such manner of men, partly by reason of their former profane arts, partly by their light behaviour otherwise and trade of life, are very offensive to the people'. The employment of labourers, artificers and others of 'base occupations' not only offended against the Elizabethan sense of order and degree, but these manual labourers, as Parker pointed out, were wont to take too lightly the responsibilities of the ministry and were not at all inclined to do the necessary studying. (It was, in fact, a statutory offence for a

1. Reg., pp. 340-341, 347.

2. Of. J. Hastings, 'Ordination', Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, IX (New York, 1928), 544-546; The Booke of Common Praier (London, 1559) (B.M. c. 25 l 9). The ceremony in the 1559 Prayer Book was the same as that given in the Edwardian ordinal (The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI, ed. E.C.S. Gibson (London, 1960), pp. 292-312).

clergyman to work a farm or to engage in other manual labour.) Parker warned Grindal (and asked him to advise the other bishops to the same effect), to be in the future

'very circumspect in admitting any to the ministry, and only to allow such as, having good testimony of their honest conversation, have been traded and exercised in learning, or at least have spent their time with teaching of children, excluding all others which have been brought up and sustained themselves either by occupation or other kinds of life alienated from learning.'¹

Thirty of the men whom Parker provided for the ordination of in the early months of his administration held benefices, curacies,² or cathedral offices in the diocese of Canterbury during his archiepiscopate and the most distinctive characteristic of this group of thirty was their mediocrity. They simply did not stand out from among all of the other clergy serving in the diocese. Some, it was true, did have attributes of the ideal clergyman. Six or seven were university graduates.³ John Mantell had also attended a university though he did not take a degree.⁴

1. Corresp., pp. 120-121; Frere, op. cit., pp. 60, 66.

2. Possibly a few of the curates have been missed here: the peripatetic nature of Elizabethan curates is often as frustrating to historical accuracy as it was to contemporary spiritual rectitude. Cf. G. Owen, 'Parochial Curates In Elizabethan London', J. Eccles. Hist., X (1959). 71 et passim.

3. Nicholas Simpson, M. A. (Oxon.), Richard Rogers, M.A. (Oxon.), John Huttofte, B.A., Roger Matthew, B.A., Roger Matthew, B.A., Thomas Odingsell, B.A., William Marshall, M. A. Of John Wood there is some doubt because of the commonness of the name. It seems unlikely, however, that Parker would have made him a cathedral six preacher if he had not had some university training.

4. Venn, A.C., I, iii, 137.

Nicholas Simpson, John Wood, John Huttofte, Roger Matthew, Thomas Horsmanden and Thomas Odingsell were licensed to preach and a seventh man, Thomas More, was not licensed to preach but, it was reported in 1561, did so anyway.¹ Eighteen of the group were resident in their Canterbury benefice and twenty dispensed hospitality. A few of the group of thirty who worked in Parker's diocese got into trouble very shortly after their ordination. Thus Roger Mantell insisted on expounding upon the scriptures in public even though Parker had expressly forbidden him to do so and he was temporarily suspended from all ministerial activities in the diocese. By 1561 he was again curate of Hawkehurst and continued to serve in the diocese. In early 1560 rumours were spreading within the diocese about the immorality of 'Sir Robert Baker' who, after ordination to the diaconate, had gone to Tenham as curate.² John Mounte, Curate of Stowting, was accused in 1563 by one of the parishioners of being 'a common brawler bothe before service & after & in diverse other places', but whatever were the eventual findings of the ecclesiastical court in that matter it did not stop Mount from serving in the diocese: in 1571 he was curate of Saltwood.³ Not all of the new ordinands were young. John Pygden was fifty-one years old when he was ordained,⁴ and William Marshall was dead by 1564. Some, like William Sweting the rector of St. George's Canterbury, had indeed been artisans.⁵ But whatever they were like for

1. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 26v.

2. Cant. MS./Y/2/23, fos. 105-6.

3. Cant. MSS./X/1/3, fo. 143v; /X/8/9c, fo. 34.

4. Cant. MS./X/10/11, fo. 102.

5. Information supplied by Dr. W.G. Urry. Except where indicated, statements in this section of the thesis have been drawn from information in Reg.; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 19-29v; Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey; Foster, A.O.; and Venn, A.C.

the most part as a group the new ordinands who served in the diocese of Canterbury excited no special comment from contemporaries.

Parker gave relatively little attention to the new ordinands at the time of ordination and he gave no special consideration to the thirty of them who served in his diocese. To only ten of those thirty did he give benefices within the diocese;¹ the other twenty had to seek out other patrons. Even for two of the men Parker did place, i.e. Francis Rawson and Thomas Jackson, Parker was not a consistent patron. Jackson got his first benefice from the Queen, and Rawson got his second from Richard Baker, esq. of Frittenden.

In fact, while we may criticise Parker for not giving more personal attention to the quality of the men ordained, the whole matter of ordination was not something that an individual diocesan could do much about. It was a national matter---a matter which would have to be decided by convocation or by the crown. Thus, it is instructive that of the 233 men whom Parker provided for the ordination of within the first eight months of his archiepiscopate, only thirty served in his own diocese. As medieval archbishops before him had done, Parker ordained men to serve in all parts of England, not just in his own diocese.² He did not prevent ordinands

1. Francis Rawson, Thomas Jackson, John Pygden, William Walter, William Lesley, John Brayneforth, John Lythall, Roger Matthew, John Wood, and Nicholas Simpson.

2. Jacob, *op. cit.*, I, lxx. Parker said, in his letter to Grindal, that long-term policy would have to be decided in convocation, i.e., at the national level (*Corresp.*, p. 121). '...none shall sue for orders but within their own diocese where they were born or had their long time of dwelling, and that by the testimony of their ordinaries, except they be degraded in universities.' The Interpretations of the Bishops in Frere and Kennedy, III, 63.

who were natives of the diocese of Canterbury from serving elsewhere. At least nine of the twenty who were specifically stated to have been born or raised in the diocese did not serve in it after ordination.¹ To seven² Parker granted letters dimissory specifically allowing them to leave the diocese or to be ordained by another bishop.³ Some of the new ordinands he placed in benefices over which he had sede vacante jurisdiction.⁴ Then too some of the thirty new ordinands who served in Canterbury diocese had a brief career there. John Paddy served for five years at Hinxhill and Brenzett and that is the last mention we have of him during the time of Parker's administration. Thomas Odingsell, B.A., whom Bullingham ordained deacon for Parker in August 1560, was collated vicar of River by Parker in August 1560 and admitted vicar of Ewell in March 1561. He resigned both benefices before October 1567, was licensed to practise medicine in 1569⁵ and apparently moved to Salisbury diocese where he was admitted vicar of Wargrave in 1571. Three of the new ordinands were non-resident pluralists: John Iythyall and John Alchin lived in the diocese of Rochester and William Marshall in the diocese of London. (Thomas

1. Reg., pp. 346-7.

2. James Hilman, John Holland, George Birche, William Dymmynge, John Wickham, James Dalton, Thomas Sharpe, Matthew Wolton and William Thomas. Those who came from the diocese and did serve in it were Roger Hurte, Thomas Forster, William Sweting, William Walter, Thomas Horsmanden, John Pady, John Alchin (Alchyn), John Owen, Francis Rawson, Richard Elson and probably Simon Tise.

3. The phraseology of these letters, with their reference to quocunque episcopo catholico, was like the phraseology of medieval letters to the same effect (Ibid., p. 346; Churchill, I, 96.)

4. Reg., pp. 200, 242, 344, sub Robert Towne.

5. Regarding John Paddy cf. Reg., pp. 344, 346, 405, 449, 798, 804, 825, 833; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 27v. On Odingsell cf. Venn, A.C., I, iii, 275.

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Odingsell and Francis Rawson were also pluralists, but they held both of their benefices within the diocese of Canterbury itself and resided at one or the other of their benefices.)

Just as it was true that men whom Parker ordained served as far away as York, in the other ecclesiastical province, men who had been ordained elsewhere, men who had, for example, been ordained in Wales and within the province of York, were to serve in Canterbury diocese under Parker. The population of Kent, and especially the clerical personnel in the diocese of Canterbury, was probably unusually fluid, but the situation there illustrated that the quality of men a bishop or archbishop admitted to holy orders was, or could be, of direct concern to every other diocesan. Thus, though Parker left action a little late, when he treated the matter of ordinations as a national, rather than a diocesan, affair in his letters to Grindal etc., he was approaching the matter in the only really effective way.

(11) READERS.

In the early years of Elizabeth's reign Parker and the bishops employed 'lectores'¹ or readers, in order to supplement the depleted ranks of the clergy. The readers were for the most part laymen. They should not be confused with the lecturers of a later date,² though their history could furnish

1. They were described as 'lectores' (singular 'lector') in the formal documents: for example, in Cant. MSS./Z/3/7 and /Z/3/8. Cf. J.Strype, Parker, I (Oxford, 1821), pp. 130ff.

2. Most of the lecturers were ordained men, but few of the lectores were puritans who became lecturers sometimes did so because they could thereby avoid using the Book of Common Prayer and could preach without episcopal interference, but one of the principal duties of the lector was to read the Prayer Book services (except communion) and most ~~lectores~~ ^{lecturers} were among the most highly-educated men in England, but with few notable exceptions the Canterbury lectores were not university graduates. Cf. C.Hill, The Economic Problems of the Church (Oxford, 1958), pp. 257-61. The lectores have been compared to the medieval minor orders (E.L. Cutts, A Dictionary of the Church of England (London, 1889), pp. 493-94).

useful precedents for the puritan lecturer attempting to defend or justify his station in life.¹ Nor, as far as we can discern, were the Canterbury diocese readers as a group particularly puritan in outlook; only John Turpyn, the one reader who can with any certainty be counted among the Marian exiles, showed pronounced puritan traits.²

Six of the lectores were, contrary to the general pattern, deacons or priests at the time that they held their readerships. Dale, the reader at Eastchurch, and Robert Hall at Little Chart were described ^{as} Dominus during their readerships, and Robert Bannester was so described a little later.³ Thomas Pett at Wye, John Turpyn at St. Mary Dover and William Wattes at St. James Dover were ordained men described as 'ministers' during the time of their readerships. Moreover, in the early months of 1560 some men had been made readers in something resembling an ordination ceremony.⁴ Five men, none of whom served in the diocese of Canterbury, were 'ordained' as lectores on Parker's behalf on January 8, 1560.⁵ Very shortly, however, such ceremonies were abandoned and it was left up to the individual ordinary to appoint readers or to determine whether or not a man who wanted to read was acceptable.⁶

1. W.H. Frere, The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I (London, 1904), pp. 108, 167.

2. C.H. Garrett, The Marian Exiles, 1553-1559 (Cambridge, 1938), p. 315. Possibly 'Galfridus Eaton', lector at Colrede, was Guido Heton, the Returned exile (*ibid.*, p. 181).

3. Cant. MSS./Z/3/7, fos. 55, 94, 127; /X/1/5, fo. 31v; Reg., pp. 449, 804, 808. Deacons and priests were regularly described as 'Dominus' (plural 'Domini') in the records relevant to this study. The readers were given no such title.

4. Frere, op. cit., p. 108.

5. Reg., p. 339. The 'ordinands' were Thomas Dawes, John Moyer, and Robert Rogerson of Winchester diocese, William Pett of London diocese and William Lakens of Ely diocese.

6. W.P.M. Kennedy, Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, I (London, 1924), lxxxii.

Thus, except when Parker's visitors were at work in the diocese late in the summer of 1560,¹ the readers were appointed by, and came under the visitatorial discipline of, the commissary general or the archdeacon's official. For these reasons and also because readerships, unlike incumbencies, were not regarded as freehold property, the archiepiscopal register and other central administration documents contained no record of the appointment of the readers.

(The readers agreed at the time they entered the office 'to give place upon convenient warning so thought by the ordinary if any learned minister' were presented to the benefice by its patron.²)

The duties of the readers were, at first, somewhat vaguely defined.³

In April 1561, however, Parker and the bishops in their Interpretations and 'Lambeth Articles' came to a firmer definition of the duties of the readers. In the future the readers were to swear to read 'that which is appointed by public authority', that is, especially the Homilies, set chapters from the Bible, and parts of the Prayer Book. They were also to bury the dead, keep the parish register, purify 'women after their childbirth', and, less specifically, to 'move men to quiet and concord and not give them cause of offence.' They were expressly enjoined not to 'preach or interpret' nor to 'minister sacraments or other rites of the church.' They undertook to improve themselves: they were

1. In September 1560 Parker's visitors specifically declared excommunicate all 'rectores, vicarios, capellanos, curatos, lectores' churchwardens, side-men and so forth who, having been summonsed, had not appeared before the visitors. This is one of the only two references to the readers in Reg. (*Ibid.*, p. 647).

2. Visitation Articles and Injunctions in the Reign of Elizabeth I, ed. W.H. Frere, III (London, 1910), 67.

3. Frere, The English Church, p. 108. Bullinger had described their task as reading 'openly before the people such places in the scripture as the bishops appointed them.' H. Bullinger, Works, V, PPS (Cambridge, 1852), 113.

to read at least two chapters of the Bible every day, to dress with 'sobriety', and they had to bring to the ordinary letters from 'the honest of the parish' testifying to their good character.¹ At the same time Parker, Grindal and Cox ruled in their special 'Lambeth Articles' that the 'ability and manners' of all readers must be examined again by their ordinary and that the ordinary must decide in each individual case whether or not the reader should be allowed to continue. Furthermore, Parker, Grindal and Cox decided, a definite decision as to their wages should be reached by the ordinary. Readers were to be ordered, at the ordinary's discretion, not to engage in 'mechanical sciences'.²

Although they proved in the diocese of Canterbury to be only a temporary expedient, Parker originally thought of the readers as a permanent and normal institution. Parker wrote, perhaps as early as 1559, that 'some honest, sober and grave layman,' acting as 'lector or reader', could daily 'read the order of service appointed', and could instruct the people, especially the children, in the catechism. Parker pointed out that such a man, not being in orders, could not christen, marry or celebrate communion, nor could he preach or prophesy unless specially licensed.³ Parker, in contrast to some of the other writers on the subject who wanted readers employed only in parishes which were completely destitute of clergy,⁴ believed these readers could be used to assist incumbents or curates and not just in totally unserved

1. Frere, The English Church, p. 108. Bullinger has described their task as reading 'openly before the people such places in the scripture as the bishops appointed them.' H. Bullinger, Works, V. PPS (Cambridge, 1852), 113.
2. J. Strype, Annals, I, i, 275-277.
3. Ibid., I, i, 276 (Strype's dating).
4. V.J.K. Brook, Parker (Oxford, 1962), p. 91.

parishes. Parker in fact drew up 'an elaborate scheme'¹ defining the respective duties of the reader and incumbent and providing for supervision of the readers by the incumbent. A 'principal incumbent' or 'pastor', as Parker called him, would hold several benefices, depute a curate or reader in each of them, and then ride something of a circuit in order to fulfill those duties which the reader could not and in order to see that the individual 'lector (s) or minister (s)' were reading the services and teaching the catechism. The pastor would also investigate the state of affairs among the laity and report serious matters to the ordinary.² This scheme did not prove practical because, although thirty-seven of the parishes in which a reader was employed also had an incumbent or curate, in only seven of the thirty-seven parishes was the ordained man resident.

In December, 1559, there were, as far as the documents reveal, no readers in the diocese of Canterbury³, but during the subsequent two and one half years seventy men were to serve as readers in seventy-one⁴ different

1. Strype, *Annals*, I, 1, 275-277.
2. Cant. MS./Z/3/5, our only source of information, is conclusive for about 75% of the parishes.
3. This figure includes six readers who were not named: the readers at Swinfield, Elmstone, Goodnestone and Wye in 1560 (Cant. MS/X/1/2, fos. 19, 23, 49, 64), at Sholden in 1561 (Cant. MS/X/1/3, fo. 112v) and Ham in 1562 (Cant. MS./Z3/7, fo. 102). In a few of the parishes the churchwardens used the word 'minister', but since they usually stated that they had neither incumbent nor curate, it must have been a reader to whom they referred. Parker used the words interchangeably, at least in the early years of his administration.
4. William Somersall was reader at both Sutton and Westlangdon in Sandwich deanery in 1561 and in the spring of 1562. There was no incumbent or curate at either place (Cant. MSS/X/1/3, fo. 118v; /Z/3/7, fos. 52v., 54, 102v, 124v, 126). Both of these rectories were inappropriate. Their combined population was 25 households and 36 communicants (Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fos. 10v, 13v).

Canterbury parishes. About ten of these readers were at work in the diocese in 1560, there were 44 more in 1561, and by the spring and summer of 1562 sixteen more had appeared.¹ Then, sometime in the summer of 1562, Parker decided to abandon the experiment. No mention of this decision, or record of why it was made, has been found, but, whereas in the spring of 1562 there were more readers than ever, by October 1562 there were, with the exception of one ordained man acting as a reader,² no readers left in the diocese.³ From then on there was the occasional reader as at Wicheling in 1569⁴ and Hucking in 1573,⁵ but there were so few as to be of practically no administrative significance.

(iii) NON-RESIDENCE.

Henrician legislation laid the groundwork for the regulation of non-residence and provided machinery and fines for the prosecution of those who did not adhere to the legislation.⁶ These fines clear up one of the

1. Cant. MSS./Z/3/8 and /Z/3/7.

2. Robert Bannester at Lydden. Cant. MS./Z/3/7, fos. 94, 127; Reg., pp. 449, 804, 808.

3. Cant. MSS./Z/3/8, fos. 68-90; /Z/3/7, fos. 118-158v.

4. H.C. Mag., VI, 27; Cant. MS./Z/3/10, fo. 3.

5. A.C., XXIX (1911), 283, 308. Lack of space meant that this discussion had to be abbreviated severely and that the individual readers could not all be discussed. Cf., however, Cant. MSS./X/1/2, fos. 41v-42, 57; /X/1/3, fo. 25v; /X/1/4, fos. 19, 103v; /X/8/5, fo. 39v; /Z/3/5, fo. 144; Reg., p. 832; Strype, Annals, I, i, 277, 314; (Harpes., p. 148.) These citations include some references to incumbents of parishes in which readers were employed.

6. 21 Hen. VIII c. 13, 25 Hen. VIII c. 16, and 28 Hen. VIII c. 13 in SR., III, 294, 457, 668-670; H.G. Owen, 'The London Parish Clergy In The Reign of Elizabeth I' (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1957), pp. 203-216; C. Hill, Economic Problems of The Church from Whitgift to the Long Parliament (Oxford, 1956), pp. 224-227; P.R.O./S.P./12/41, fos. 51-51v; see also 13 Eliz. c. 10 (1571), in SR., IV, 544-45; 13 Eliz. c. 11 (1571) in ibid., 546-47; 13 Eliz. c. 20 (1571); ibid., 556.

principal questions which had troubled even pre-Reformation canonists: that is, what constituted non-residence¹, and passed an act which defined non-residence as eighty days absence in the year from one's benefice.²

The very first of the royal articles of inquiry of 1559 asked the question whether or not 'any parson, vicar or curate be resident continually upon the benefice doing his duty in preaching, reading and duly administering the holy sacraments.'³ Parker, in his 1560 articles for his province, posed the question in much the same way:

Item, whether your parsons and vicars be resident continually upon their benefices. Whether they give themselves to devout prayer preaching and reading of the scripture, and godly contemplation, and relieve the poor charitably to their ability. Whether they pray for the prosperous state of the Queen's Majesty, as is prescribed in her grace's injunctions therein accordingly.⁴

Parker repeated this question in his diocesan articles of 1563, 1569 and 1573⁵ and in his provincial articles for 1567⁶. His officers tabulated in 1561 and in 1569 the facts about how many of the clergy in Canterbury diocese were resident and how many were not.⁷ At least some vicars were required, upon receiving their benefices, to take an oath to be continually resident and all of Parker's beneficed clergy undertook to uphold the

1. M. Bowker, 'Non-Residence in the Lincoln Diocese in the Early Sixteenth Century' *JEH.*, XV (1964), 41.

2. 13 Eliz. c. 11 in *SR.*, IV, 556.

3. Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, III (1559-1575), ed. W.H. Frere (London, 1910), 1.

4. *Ibid.*, III, 82.

5. *Ibid.*, III, 140, 215, 366.

6. *Ibid.*, III, 193.

7. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 1-29; Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey.

'consuetudines' of the church---which customs and laws included canonical requirements to be resident.¹ Neither Parker nor his diocesan officers² hesitated to sequester the fruits of benefices of non-residents such as vicar David Robson who had left his Norgate, Canterbury, benefice unserved.³ Some sequestrations were temporary and were lifted if the incumbent reformed. Parker sanctioned the canons of 1571 one of which deplored the results of non-residence.⁴

When Parker became Archbishop less than half of the parishes in his diocese were served by a resident incumbent. Seventy-three churches were completely unserved, and, in addition to these 73 which had neither incumbent nor curate, 84 of the 274 churches about which we have information had either a non-resident incumbent, or a non-resident incumbent and a curate who served the cure, or had no incumbent at all and was looked after by a curate. The status of the clergy in another 28 of the parishes is uncertain: some of them at least were probably non-resident. But even excluding these 28 from our calculations we can say that in 157 of the
per cent
churches in the diocese, or about 55/ of them, there was no resident incumbent. This is a minimum figure; if we knew all of the facts perhaps as
per cent
high as 64/ of the churches were without a resident incumbent.⁵

1. Reg., pp. 164, 783, 772.

2. In London diocese only the bishops could sequester benefices. Owen, p. 208.

3. Reg., pp. 776-777. Parker also sequestered the benefices of several clergymen who were non-resident in diocese of which he was sede vacante ordinary. Ibid., pp. 207, 208, 209, 211, 236, 248, 278, 396, 842, 856, 1009, 1123.

4. Prothero, p. 202 cf. Corresp., p. 319; Hill pp. 225-27 (especially the notes there); Owen, pp. 203-216.

5. Cant. MS./Z/3/5 fos 125-59v; Cant. MS/Z/3/8, fos. 1-11v. Percentages here are calculated on the basis of 288 churches.

Exact calculations of the extent of non-residence within the diocese are complicated by the quick changes in personnel coincident with the Settlement, and by the way in which contemporary surveys used the description 'resident'. Before the Reformation there has been a distinct difference between technical and actual residence on the part of the parish clergy,¹ and apparently this distinction was still to some extent adhered to during the early years of Parker's administration. Apparently any clergyman who could prove he had spent some part of the year in his benefice was labelled 'resident'. The clerical survey of 1561, for example, showed only 20% of the tabulated parishes to be held by a non-resident, incumbent, but it is clear that his survey, like its successor in 1569, did not give an accurate picture. Thus, there were several instances within the 1561 survey in which the clergyman was described as 'resident' when he clearly was not resident. To take one example: rector Nicholas Calvert was said, in the same tabular entry, to be resident at Tenham and to live at Faversham,² but the truth of the matter was that he was incumbent of both parishes, that he made his home at Faversham; and that he was only technically resident at Tenham. Rector Nicholas Sympson was described in the survey as resident at Wicheling but he was not.³ The vicar of Rayneham, John Wakeling, was described in the survey as resident, but both in December 1559 and October 1562 the churchwardens reported to the archdiaconal visitors that

1.. Bowker, p. 41.

2. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 26v.

3. Ibid., fo. 28v; Cant. MS./X/1/4, fos. 130v, 131.

Wakeling was not resident.¹ The situation was similar with Simon Clerk, M.A., the incumbent of Milton and Marston;² and with William ^{Lott} both the vicar of Woodnesborough and Hackington.³ There were at least seventeen⁴ other parishes within the diocese of Canterbury in which the situation was similar.

The call books of the archdiaconal and commissarial visitors for October 1562 yield a more accurate picture than that given by the clerical survey. Of 288 churches, including chapels, 35 had no incumbent or were completely destitute, 55 others has a curate only, and one had only a reader. Thus, 91 out of the 288 churches, or about 32% of them, had no incumbent. Of the 197 churches which did have an incumbent, 39 also had a curate. But the important fact is that of the 197 churches which had an incumbent, 100 had an incumbent who was not resident. Thus, 191 of the 288 churches, or 66% of them, did not have a resident incumbent either because of vacancy or non-residence. Another way of putting it is that only 34% of the churches in the diocese of Canterbury in 1562 had a resident incumbent.

By 1569 there were 107 parishes which had non-resident incumbants,⁵ an increase of seven from 1562. Including vacancies and parishes which had no incumbent but were served by a curate only, there were in 1569 at least

1. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 28v; Cant. MSS./Z/3/5, fo. 147v; /Z/3/7, fo. 141.
2. C.C.C.C. MS/580, fo. 28v; Cant. MS./X/1/4, fos. 125v, 126.
3. Ibid., fos. 32v, 33; C.C.C.C. MS/580, fo 22v.
4. Halstow, Milsted, Bettishanger, Ringwould, Shepherdswell, Eastry, Goodnestone, Shadoxhurst, Snave, Acrise, Betrisden, Holy Cross Westgate, All Saints Canterbury, St. Andrew's Canterbury, Bishopsbourne, Bridge and Kingston.
5. Cant. MSS./Z/3/7, fos. 118-143; /Z/3/8, fos. 69-83; W. Hill, p. 226.
6. Cant. MS./Z/3/10; H.C. Mag., V and VI.

170 of the churches which did not have a resident incumbent. This was not substantially different from the situation as of 1562, but there had been two great improvements: by 1569 less than twenty of the benefices were completely vacant and, secondly, in all but 38 of the parishes in which the incumbent was non-resident there was a curate. Parker allowed non-residence but he and his officials were increasingly strict in requiring non-resident incumbents to hire curates.¹ By 1574 some of Parker's judicial officers were even going so far as to require pluralists to serve diligently all of their benefices in person which would seem like an almost impossible demand perhaps given to force them to resign at least one benefice. For example, in 1573 there were complaints from Lydden that the non-resident vicar, Richard Phountayne, who also held Ewell and River, did not serve them every Sunday but had 'placed a reader there whose name they knowe [not] otherwise than Henry.' Phountayne confessed to the truth of the charges whereupon judge Beseley 'monuit eum quod posthac diligentius deservat (sic) cure ibidem sub pena iuris'¹ As vicar of Ewell he received a similar warning from the judge.² This trend towards making certain that every benefice had at least one clergyman, either the curate or the incumbent resident, continued during the last six years of Parker's administration. Complaints about non-resident clergy also drop off in the later years of Parker's administration. In 1573 the churchwardens of only 39 out of 215 parishes complained about the non-residence of their incumbent.

1. A.C., XXIX (1911), 292; Cant. MS./Z/3/11, fo. 25; Reg., pp. 509, 841.
2. A.C., XXIX (1911), 293; Cant. MS./Z3/11, fo. 25v.

In 1562 at least 50% of the parochial incumbents in Canterbury diocese¹ were non-resident and ^{all available evidence indicates that never less than} 25% of the incumbents were non-resident. Many of the clergy contrived to evade the non-residence laws on the strength of pluralities, and others because their first benefice was of such small value that they could escape statutory requirements such as permanent residence, but there was one route to the privilege of non-residence which few of Parker's clergy found open: very few were able to obtain a dispensation (unless included in a plurality) to be non-resident. Parker was not promiscuous in the grant of licences for single-beneficed clergy to be non-resident. Apart from faculties to pluralists, Parker granted less than a dozen faculties for non-residence to clergy within his diocese, a policy which was also true in the bishopric of London, 'where practically no such faculties were granted after 1570.'¹

The few dispensations for non-residence (aside from those included in pluralities) that Parker did grant to his diocesan clergy were issued for a variety of reasons. One such reason was sickness. In 1571 Parker granted Richard Lenthall, vicar of St. James, Dover, a dispensation to be absent from his benefice for the duration of his (Lenthall's) infirmity.² Occasionally such faculties were granted or so it was said, in the cause of learning. In 1568 Parker granted to dean Thomas Godwyn a dispensation to be absent from Canterbury cathedral for eighty days in the year more than was

1. Owen, p. 204; cf. Corresp., p.312; and Cant.MS/X/1/5, fos. 85v-86.
2. Lambeth MS./723, to 42v.

permissible by the statutes of the cathedral¹ in order that Godwyn might study theology and preach before the Queen. Parker also allowed Godwyn another eighty days of non-residence from the Cathedral providing he spent that time in the county of Kent and preached the word of God.² Thus, Godwyn, for a fee of thirty shillings, was licensed to be absent from the Cathedral for 160 days in the year, and if, as was quite possible and legal, he were absent without licence for an additional 79 days, he could manage to spend only 126 days in the year actually at the cathedral. Such freedom helps explain why the dean made his home at Chartham, Kent, rather than in the city of Canterbury.

Sometimes Parker granted dispensations for non-residence simply because he had been required by the Queen so to do. This was true of the dispensations granted Arthur St. Leger and William Darrell.³ Parker sometimes granted dispensations for non-residence without specifying why he was doing so. This was true of the dispensation he granted Nicholas Munday in 1571,⁴ true of the faculties granted bishop Suffragan Richard Rogers and prebendary Andrew Pearson, and also true of the six months leave of absence he granted Henry Cheyney, rector of Ringwold.⁵ (For all such dispensations Parker charged, through the court of faculties, a fee: he charged Lenthall 20s, Godwyn 30s, both Darrell and St. Leger 30s plus 5s for the great seal, Munday 6s 8d, Rogers $\text{£}6$, Pearson 20s, and Cheyney 13s 4d.⁶)

1. The dean, according to the cathedral statutes, was supposed permanently to be resident, (B.M. MS./Harl./1197 to 323).

2. Lambeth MS./723, fo. 5v.

3. Ibid., fos. 3v, 1l.

4. Ibid., to 48.

5. Ibid., fos. 30, 37v, 48.

6. For the ways in which the fees were apportioned, see W. Hooper, 'The Court of Faculties', EHR., XXV (1910), 670-86. Cf. P.R.O./E./351/1482, 1483 (1566-1640) and /E./101/521/8.

Before the Reformation in at least one English diocese 'the higher the value of the living the more likely it was that the incumbent would not reside',¹ and this was in one aspect true of the situation in Parker's Canterbury. Those who intended to be non-resident preferred benefices which were not inappropriate. This meant that a minimum number of middle-men stood between the tithes and the incumbent. It was true that an inappropriate benefice often meant more responsibilities as far as the upkeep of the buildings etc. was concerned, and it also meant that the non-resident incumbent had to hire a curate, but rising prices generally meant that collection in kind could, with care, yield more than a simple annual money payment or stipend. Thus, only thirty-four of the 100 churches held by non-residents in 1562 were inappropriate.² One-third was ^arelatively low proportion considering that well over half of the churches in the diocese were inappropriate.

Non-residence did reduce the effectiveness of the Elizabethan Church among the people and it did complicate the problem of ecclesiastical administration. For example in October 1562 an average of one parish out of three in which the incumbent was non-resident laid a complaint before ^avisiting ordinary about the failure of the clergyman to dispense hospitality or else laid a complaint about the way in which the divine service was done.

1. Bowker, p. 45.

2. Linton, Lenham, Barsted, Rodmersham, Milton, Newington, Halstow, Woodnewborough, Eastry, Tenterden, Mihster, Benenden, Holy Cross Westgate, Sturry, St. Margaret's Canterbury, Eastry (Sandwich), Patricxbourne, Ham, Marden, Bapchild, Oolrede, Norbourne, Shepherdswell, Tenham, Norton, Linsted, Stallisfield, Herne, Monckton, Betrisden, Beakesbourne, Bridge and Wye. Cant. MSS./Z/3/7, /Z/3/8, /X/1/4 and C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 1-29v.

In the parishes in which the clergyman was resident there were far fewer such complaints: an average of one such complaint for every sixteen parishes.

Failure to help the poor and failure to say the service in 'dewe tyme' are deficiencies of the sort one would expect from non-resident clergyman, but the complications to which non-residence gave rise often took a very different form; a form that one might not at first think of. Thus, if the complaints of Tudor reformers meant anything at all, one would expect that more things would go wrong in a parish which lacked a resident incumbent than would go wrong elsewhere. Even a good curate would not have the authority to maintain order that a resident incumbent would have. But statistics of complaints do not show, except (as has been shown) with regard to hospitality and performance of divine service, that things were worse in parishes in which the incumbent was non-resident. For example, reasonably complete archdiaconal and commissarial visitation records survive for the visitation of October, 1562. Information from a total of 273 churches (including chapels) appears in these records. There were 487 presentments, that is, complaints about things that had to be rectified, from these 273 churches; this was a statistical average of 1.8 complaints per church.

In 169 of these churches the incumbent was resident, or at least there is no information to the contrary. Fifty-four of these 169 churches, or 32% of them, laid no presentments, which meant, in theory, that all was well. From the remaining 115 of these churches in which the incumbent was resident,

there are some 302 presentments or an average of almost three complaints per parish.

In the other 104 of the 273 churches the clergyman was not resident. Twenty eight of these 104 churches, or 27% of them, made no presentments other than, in most cases, to indicate that the clergyman was not resident. For the remaining 76 churches there were 185 complaints or an average of 2.4 complaints per church. Thus the average number of complaints from parishes in which the incumbent was not resident was slightly lower, rather than substantially higher, than from the churches in which the incumbent was resident.

The fact is that in those parishes in which the incumbent was not resident the full story was not being told. For one thing, if the clergyman were resident he would know his parish and parishioners reasonably well and would, one could expect, fether out more things that needed to be rectified. But the problem probably went deeper than that. The presentments were made up by the churchwardens in consultation with the incumbent; specific information given to the churchwardens and the incumbent by the parishioners was also taken into account. Resident clergymen, especially such uncompromising individuals as Richard Fletcher, M.A., vicar of Ashford John Day, the controversial (contemporaries said papistical) curate¹ of Maidstone, and John Fuller, rector of Cranbrook, did not fear to have their churchwardens

1. Maidstone's arrangement was peculiar: their curate was the equivalent of a vicar elsewhere. Cant. MSS./Z/3/8, fos. 77v-78, 114v, 115.

present a whole list of parishioners who they said were suspected of bigamy, adultery and other serious offences. Men like Fletcher, Day and Fuller felt themselves strong enough to weather any storm that the defendants might care to make. But churchwardens who did not have the support of a resident clergyman might well be reluctant to reveal the misdemeanours of their neighbours. The percentages of complaints of different kinds from parishes affected by non-residence substantiates this idea. For every one complaint from non-resident William Darrell's parishes about the manners or morals of the parishioners there were four complaints, directly or indirectly, about Darrell. Only 7% of the complaints from his parishes were about the *Sexual misdemeanours of his parishioners*. A similar picture emerges when the *entire diocese is considered*. In 1562, 91 cases dealing with sexual offenses came from the 115 parishes with a resident incumbent whereas only 29 such presentments came from the 76 churches which did not have a resident incumbent. That is, a statistical 63% of the churches which had a resident incumbent laid a complaint about a sexual misdemeanour (usually a misdemeanour of one of the parishioners) whereas among the churches in which the incumbent was not resident only 38% presented a sexual case. It is more difficult to make comparisons of matters like decay of the church fabric because this was related to the question of who was rector or who was impropriator of the tithes rather than to anything else. But the raising of questions like immorality were closely related to the vigilance of the clergyman and his churchwardens. There may be other reasons why more information came from churches in which the incumbent was resident; Cranbrook, Ashford^d and Maidstone, for example, were among the most populous parishes in the diocese

and that may help to account for more activity there. But on the whole it seems that non-residence was one of the principal obstacles in the way of efficient administration, in that it hindered the collection of exact data.

William Darrell, M.A., scion of a modestly important Kent family, was one of the worst offenders against the spirit of the non-residency laws. His patrons included Warham St. Leger, Sir John and Lady Mary Guldeford and Sir Thomas Kempe---all of whom showed some tendencies towards religious conservatism.¹ During his career Darrell held (under Cranmer, Pole, Parker and Grindal) at least eleven parochial benefices plus three chapels plus his cathedral prebend within the diocese of Canterbury as well as four benefices and a royal chaplaincy outside of the diocese. He did not, of course, hold all twenty benefices at the same time.² Darrell was a royal favourite, a prebendary of Canterbury cathedral, a graduate and an antiquary who wrote a treatise on the castles of Kent. Such characteristics were of the kind which could cause Parker to overlook many things, but even he complained when the Queen wanted to make Darrell permanently non-resident at the cathedral and something, perhaps pressure from Parker and his diocesan officers, made Darrell in the 1570's pay more attention to his parochial responsibilities. Parker probably also forced Darrell to resign some of his Canterbury benefices including Little Hardres in 1570, Chilham-cum-Molash and Brookland in 1572 of which Darrell was not taking adequate care. Though a patronage dispute was also involved,

1. DNB.; Reg., *passim*; P.R.O./E./334/8, fo. 59; Lambeth MS./723, fo. 11; Woodruff, Cal. I.S.V., p. 25; Venn, AC., I, ii, 12; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 19, 20v, 22; H.M.C., Fifth Report, Appendix, p. 434 (regarding Thomas Kempe).

2. Brenzett, Tenterden, Lenham, Little Hardres, Great Hardres, Benenden, Monckton, Brookland, Chilham, Brook, Little Chart, with the chapels of Stelling, Royton and Molash in the diocese of Canterbury, Milton-next-Gravesend in Rochester diocese, Chawton in Hampshire, Kings Weston in Somerset and Brightling in Sussex. DNB.; Foster, AO., 373; Harpes., p. 168; Cant. MS./X/1/3, fos. 10v, 49v; appended biography.

Parker may have also prevented Darrell from adding Broke to his collection: Darrell held the rectory for a few months in 1574 but then gave it up.¹ At Parker's death Darrell still held in the diocese his prebend, Benenden, Great Hardres, Monckton and the chapels of Birchington, Wood and Stelling. Under Grindal Darrell was made to relinquish more of his benefices including, in 1579, his prebend. This is not surprising in that Grindal had known of Darrell's doings for some time: in 1567 Grindal had helped to prevent Darrell from getting an Irish bishopric. 'Sir', Grindal had written to Cecil on this occasion,

'this poor scholar, bringer [of this letter], being an Irishman and zealous towards his country, hath heard that one Mr. Dorrell is like to be primate of Armagh, which he thinketh will hinder the course of religion in that country. Surely I myself am of the same opinion; for the said Dorrell hath been heretofore convented before me and other commissioners [in causes ecclesiastical] for sundry misdemeanours and therefore I know him to be an unfit man for so high an office. I pray you therefore be a means, as much as you may, that some learned man, of grave and godly disposition, may be placed there, who by doctrine and good example may win people to Christ. I once commended unto you Doctor Spencer parson of Hedley. If it pleased the Queen's Majesty that my lord of Canterbury were sent to, he might bill three or four grave men, whereof her Majesty might make choice. These men that sue for bishoprics do in that declare themselves unmeet for the room.'²

Darrell's non-residence affected the lives of many people scattered over the diocese. In 1562, for example, there were presentments involving five of Darrell's benefices: Great Hardres, Monckton, Lenham, Benenden and Little Hardres. To these five benefices were attached the four chapels of Stelling, Royton, Birchington and Woodchurch. The importance of the individual churches and the degree of Darrell's responsibility for them varied greatly. Royton chapel, for example, sent its few parishioners to Lenham,³ and Woodchurch, a chapel 'within the yle of Thanet' at the

1. DNB.; James, Catalogue of Trinity, Cambridge, Manuscripts, III, 329-33; Corresp., p. 319; Reg., pp. 1114, 1091-3, 1117, 1133.

2. E. Grindal, Remains, ed. William Nicholson, PPS (Cambridge, 1843), 292. The spellings Darrell, Dorell and Dorel were all used.

3. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 23v.

'hamlecte there', had only six households in 1563 and was not in use at all during the early years of Parker's administration though he seems to have revived it later.¹ Then, too, Canterbury cathedral as impropiator, not Darrell as vicar, seems to have been responsible for supplying curates for the chapels annexed to Monckton, that is, Birchington and Woodchurch. This, at least, had been the situation at the time of the making of the Valor Ecclesiasticus and the situation seems to have been the same during Parker's administration.² In spite of these qualifications, however, it remains true that nine churches within the diocese of Canterbury were, in 1562, affected by Darrell's non-residence.

Darrell's nine Canterbury diocese churches served a population, all told, of 377 households and 1,444 communicants.³ The churches were scattered from Birchington, a chapel of 42 households and 200 communicants lying ten miles East-North-East of the city of Canterbury, to Benenden, a vicarage of 148 households and 547 communicants lying in the rich Romney Marsh about twenty-five miles South West of Canterbury. Darrell's other benefices lay scattered in between Birchington and Benenden. Little Hardres lay two, Great Hardres four, and Stelling six miles South of the city of Canterbury. Lenham, a large parish of 100 households and 400 communicants lay on the route to Maidstone about fourteen miles West of Canterbury and thirteen miles North of Benenden. Thus, Birchington and Benenden, the two churches at the extremes of Darrell's holdings in the diocese, were, by direct measurement, at least thirty-five miles apart. By the actual roads that Darrell would have had to

1. B.M. Harl./MS./594, fo. 80; /C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 21; Cant. MS./X/8/6, fos. 2v-3.

2. VE., I, 35; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 21. But for evidence which possibly indicated that Darrell was responsible for supplying curates to Birchington see Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fo. 21v and Cant. MS./Z/3/7, unnumbered folio near end of MS.

3. B.M. Harl./MS./594, fos. 69, 70v, 79, 80; B.M. Harl./MS./1759, fos. 417v, 429; Cant. MSS./1569 Clerical Survey, fos. 8v, 21, 23v, 24v, 25, 36; /Z/3/8, fos. 142v, 143.

use it was probably much farther between the two churches. Distance alone would have made close supervision of parochial affairs difficult even if Darrell had wanted to make the effort.

Darrell's misdemeanours within the diocese of Canterbury may not have been the ones of which Grindal wrote in 1567, but they certainly show that Darrell regarded his offices not as responsibilities but as sinecures and the resulting indifference to the needs of the parishioners was also revealed. Darrell's behaviour as rector of Great Hardres was a case in point. Great Hardres, a parish of 22 households and 87 communicants, lay about six miles directly south of the city of Canterbury and, as with several of Darrell's benefices, was located in the rural deanery of Bridge.¹ In 1569 the annual revenue to Darrell from this rectory was said to be £17 8s 4d which was very close to the £18 4d figure given in the Valor Ecclesiasticus.² Darrell did not appear at the December 1559 archdiaconal visitation of this rural deanery even though one might have expected him to be a little bit careful about such things since he had been rector only a few months.³ He did not appear at the visitation of the following year either at which time the churchwardens complained that he had not even provided them with a curate.⁴ They also pointed out that the parson was not resident, had preached to them only once in a whole year, that the parsonage was in decay and that three different people withheld from the church money that they owed for the use of ewes and cows belonging to the church.⁵

Great Hardres still needed a curate in 1562, and Darrell was presented by the

1. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 24v.

2. The Valor also gives the slightly different figure of 19 13s. S.P./12/60, fo. 207; VE., I, 39, 92.

3. Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 130.

4. Cant. MS./Z/3/7, fo. 49v.

5. Cant. MS./X/1/2, fo. 10. For a discussion of rental of church livestock to parishioners see S.L. Ware, The Elizabethan Parish in its Ecclesiastical and Financial Aspects (Baltimore, 1908).

churchwardens for non-residence. They also complained that the parsonage house (which was Darrell's responsibility) was in decay and about to fall down. The court therefore temporarily sequestered the fruits of the rectory. The churchwardens also presented that 'for lacke of a preste...the corses are unburyed iij dayes together'. The churchwardens said they had neither Erasmus's Paraphrases, the Homilies needed for gang days, nor a 'lyttle booke of prayers' that the archbishop had required all churches to have. The churchwardens said that they had raised their share but that they could not get the part that was due from the rector and the sequestrator. Four people withheld from the church money belonging to it and one of the parishioners was prepared to defend in court a statement that he had made that a neighbour lady was a witch.¹

Perhaps Darrell did put straight some of the things that were amiss in Great Hardres because in 1563 the churchwardens' presentments simply recorded that he had not provided them with a single sermon in twelve months and that he provided no hospitality nor did he distribute alms to the poor.²

By 1569 Darrell was still non-resident at Great Hardres and he held at least three Canterbury benefices in addition to his prebend. Not surprisingly, he is not recorded as dispensing any hospitality in this parish, and though he had provided a curate, Thomas Robynson, Parker's visitors suspended that curate until he exhibited to them his letters of ordination. Darrell did not appear at the archbishop's diocesan visitation of this year either. The church did not have the Paraphrases and the parsonage was 'somewhat decayed and out of reparations.'³ In 1572

1. Cant. MSS./Y/2/24, fo. 75; /X/1/4, fos. 21v-23v.

2. Lambeth MS./C.M./13/44, fo. 6.

3. Cant. MSS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 24v; /Z/3/10, fo. 30; H.C. Mag., V, 209.

Darrell's farmer was ordered to repair the chancel.¹ By 1573 the church still did not have the Paraphrases because parson Darrell had not paid his half. Beyond that the churchwardens reported that their parson was 'non-resident and hathe more benefices, but we knowe them not.'²

These complaints from Great Hardres show the kinds of ways in which Darrell made himself an obstacle to efficient administration. He was resident at none of his parochial benefices and by 1562 when this fact was reported to the ordinaries they simply noted that Darrell lived at Canterbury cathedral (which was, especially after 1568, more of a legal fiction than a demonstrable fact).³ Indeed, few of the normal disciplinary controls had any effect upon Darrell at all. He never appeared at visitations in the diocese and did not take the trouble to name anyone proxy to appear in his stead. At first the visitors tried to force him to appear by pronouncing him contumacious etc., but they very quickly gave that up.⁴ In 1562, the visitors sequestered the fruits of Benenden because Darrell had not repaired the vicarage but Darrell seems to have had the case referred to the archbishop and that is the last we hear of it.⁵ Sometimes the visitors were able to use temporary sequestration to force Darrell to mend church property, but there were, over all, very few times that the visitors tried to use the normal disciplinary techniques such as sequestration, excommunication, etc.

The lack of sermons disturbed the parishioners in most of Darrell's benefices. Darrell himself, in spite of his M.A., was not a good preacher⁶ and, by 1569, was even hiring someone else to preach his cathedral sermons for him.⁷ In his

1. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 97.

2. A.C. XXIX (1911), 283.

3. Cant. MS./Z/3/7, fo. 49v; Corresp., p. 319; Lambeth MS./723, fo. 11.

4. Cant. MSS./Z/3/5, fo. 130; /Z/3/7, fo. 49v.

5. Ibid., fo. 134v; /X/1/4, fos. 85v-87.

6. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 19v, 20.

7. S.P./12/60, fo. 207.

parochial benefices Darrell was very often negligent about either preaching himself or hiring someone else to preach for him---as the complaints from Great Hardres reveal. Similarly from Stelling, a chapel of ease annexed to Great Hardres and serving 29 households and 78 communicants¹, came complaints in December 1560 that Darrell had preached to them only once since he had become their rector.² He had, at that time, held the chapel for less than a year.³ A year later Stelling made the same complaint (among many others): Darrell had not preached to them for 12 months.⁴ In 1569 it was the same story: Darrell had not provided the chapel with its quarter sermons.⁵ Lenham, too, complained in 1561 about the lack of sermons,⁶ and Little Hardres complained in the same year that they had no service whatsoever let alone sermons.⁷ In 1564 Little Hardres still had no sermons and no minister but only a reader⁸, though by the following year Darrell seems to have rectified matters there.⁹ From Brookland presentments were made to the archbishop's visitors in 1569 to the effect that vicar Darrell had provided the parish, which he had held since 1564, with no sermons.¹⁰

As a non-resident incumbent Darrell was obliged to hire curates for the benefices and chapelries in which he did not reside. But often he did not hire a curate or at least let the matter go as long as he could. This was true with Great Hardres and

1. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 25. Cf. B.M. MS./Harl./594, fo. 69 where the figure 20 households is given.

2. Cant. MS./X/1/2, fo. 14.

3. Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 130v. (Dec. 1559.)

4. Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 96v.

5. Cant. MS./Z/3/10, fo. 30; H.C. Mag., V, 116. The royal injunctions in 1559 required every ecclesiastic to preach at least four times a year in his benefice. It was permissible for him to hire a licenced preacher to do it for him. These were the quarter sermons. W.H. Frere, Visitation Articles..., III, 8-10.

6. Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 49v.

7. Ibid., fo. 10v.

8. Cant. MS./X/1/5, fos. 95v-96.

9. Cant. MS./X/1/7, fo. 64v.

10. H.C. Mag., V, 115; Reg., pp. 804, 1050, 1098.

the situation was similar at Little Hardres, a parish of 15 households and 54 communicants lying three or four miles south of the city of Canterbury.¹ The annual revenue to the rector from Little Hardres was said to be £7 19s 8d.² Parker had collated Darrell to this rectory in October 1560³ and there were complaints in 1561,⁴ 1562 and again in 1564 that, by default of 'Mr. Dorrell, parson',⁵ they had no curate and no service at all except that 'downe by one Cockeson' a reader.⁶

In 1561 Great Hardres did not yet have a curate and neither did the annexed chapel of Stelling even though Darrell had held the benefice for nearly two years. By October 1562 Darrell had still not provided these churches with curates⁷ even though in June 1562 in the Canterbury consistory court in the presence of the churchwardens Darrell's farmer, William Cheston, had taken an oath to provide a curate for the rectory and chapel.⁸ By 1567 Darrell had provided these churches with a curate, Thomas Robinson,⁹ though Stelling was not at all satisfied with him because he said divine service only once a day 'sometimes in the forenoon, sometimes in the afternoon.'¹⁰ Lenham was another parish which was not very satisfied with the curate (Nicholas Sympson, student)¹¹ whom Darrell had supplied.

Darrell was at his worst in the areas of responsibility, such as the hiring of

1. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 36; B.M. MS./Harl./1759, fo. 429.
2. P.R.O./E./334/8, fo. 203v (1570 evaluation.).
3. Reg., pp. 387, 775 by lapse. The actual patron of the rectory was the Queen.
4. Cant. MSS./Z/3/7, fos. 49v, 98v, 120; /X/1/3, fo. 10v.
5. Cant. MS./X/1/5, fos. 95v-96.
6. Cant. MSS./Z/3/7, fo. 220; /X/1/4, fos. 13v-14.
7. Cant. MSS./Z/3/7, fos. 49v, 122; /X/1/3, fo. 96v.
8. Cant. MS./Y/2/24, fo. 75.
9. Cant. MS./Z/3/9, fos. 19v, 51 (He was sometimes called 'John' Robynson).
10. Cant. MS./Z/3/10, fo. 30; H.C. Mag., V, 116.
11. Cant. MSS./Z/3/5, fo. 152v; /X/1/3, fo. 49v; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 26; S.P./12/76, fo. 30v; Foster, AO., I, 1358; Venn, AC., I, iv, 80 for Nicholas Sympson's name-sake; Reg., pp. 17, 20, 340, 409, 789, 804; cf. ibid., pp. 318, 319, 321 regarding dispensation to hold a benefice and go to university.

curates, which cost him money. This was also true as far as the provision of hospitality was concerned: at least four of his churches, Great Hardres, Benenden, Chilham and Monckton, made frequent complaints about Darrell's failure to 'keep hospitality', to give the fortieth part of the income from his benefices to the poor, or to provide other forms of alms. It was also true as far as concerned the supplying of books and other furniture for which Darrell was responsible in the churches. Darrell was particularly remiss in paying his portion for Erasmus's Paraphrases, but he was negligent about all the books officially required in the church. This was true at Great Hardres in 1569 and 1573 the churchwardens of Stelling told a similar story: Darrell had not paid his part towards the purchase of the Paraphrases and therefore the church did not have them.¹ For the same reason Little Hardres lacked, in 1562, the Homilies and Parker's 'lyttle booke of prayers',² and Brookland in 1569 had no Paraphrases.³ There were also complaints about Darrell's failure to keep in good repair the buildings and properties of his benefices---a responsibility which could be quite expensive. There were such complaints from Great Hardres in 1560, 1562, 1569 and 1572;⁴ from Stelling in 1561, 1565, 1572 and 1573;⁵ Little Hardres in 1562, 1564, 1565 and 1567;⁶ from Benenden in 1561, 1563, 1569, 1574 and 1575;⁷ single complaints of the same nature from Monckton, Brookland, Molash, and Lenham.⁸ Darrell seems to have been unusually successful in procrastinating about

1. H.C. Mag., V, 116; A.C. XXIX (1911), 280.

2. Cant. MS./X/1/4, fos. 13v-14.

3. H.C. Mag., V, 115.

4. Cant. MSS./X/1/2, fo. 10; /X/1/4, fos. 21v-22; /X/1/11, fo. 97; H.C. Mag., V, 209.

5. Cant. MSS./X/1/3, fo. 96v; /X/1/7, fos. 94v-95; /X/1/11, fo. 97; A.C., XXIX (1911), 280.

6. Cant. MSS./X/1/5, fo. 95v-96; /X/1/7, fo. 64v; /X/1/8, fo. 97; Reg., pp. 509, 841.

7. Cant. MSS./Z/3/7, fo. 134v; /X/1/4, fos. 85v-87; /Z/3/10, fo. 38; /X/1/12, fos. 38, 38v; Lambeth MS./C.M./13/44, fo. 3v; H.C. Mag., VI, 27; Reg., p. 785.

8. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./43/1, fo. 5v; Cant. MS./X/1/7, fo. 102v; H.C. Mag., V, 115. For Lenham cf. Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 49v.

making repairs.

Non-residence also meant some deficiency in the cure of souls in the sense of the specific needs of individual parishioners, but the significance of such deficiency was of the nature that left little record. Occasional incidents, however, do reveal the truth. For example, from Stelling in 1560 there came the presentment that 'Joan Denham, being lame, blynde and sicke hath not received the communyon thys year and a halffe by reason that the parson or minister hathe not doone their dwetyes [sic] unto her.' Darrell was the parson. In 1561 the churchwardens complained that Darrell

'had a wardning to minister unto Jamys Browne being an aged man & to dyuerse others of the parish that wold haue received with hym, but our parson came not nor sent any to us to minister the holy communion; and also that their [sic] was a lame maide which came not to the churche of a good space and had prepared herself iij tymes with dyuers of the neighbours, and the parson had word and came not to minister the hollye communion nor did comfort her in her sycknes with God's holy worde as hys dewty was, and so the mayd dyed without receiuinge of the communion.'¹

(iv) EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL STANDARDS OF THE CANTERBURY DIOCESAN CLERGY: AN EVALUATION.

With the Reformation emphasis upon the parish rather than the manor as the unit of administration and the preacher rather than the bishop as the source of local leadership and inspiration, the question of the qualifications of clergymen became of more importance.² There were some things which Parker could, and some which he could not, do to improve the quality of the clergy in his diocese. He was limited by the supply of men, but the fact that many of the clergy were men he had inherited

1. Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 96v.

2. C. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church from Whitgift to the Long Parliament (Oxford, 1956), pp. 204, 224-25; H.G. Owen, 'London Parish Clergy In the Reign of Elizabeth I' (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1957).

from the Marian era or that there were others who re-claimed their benefices at the accession of Elizabeth. He was also limited by the advowson system of placing clergymen in benefices, and it is to that that attention will first be given.

Patronage, thanks to recent research,¹ is now recognized as one of the most important features of Elizabethan public life, but the patronage system as it related to the church has usually been omitted in scholarly considerations of the question.² Clergymen normally got their benefices through a patron. That is, for every church in the diocese of Canterbury, with the sole exception of the chapel of Smallhythe, the advowson (i.e., the right to name the new clergyman when the benefice fell vacant) was the property of a man or an institution. These patrons would 'present' the clergyman of their choice to Parker. The clergyman would then have to be 'admitted' and instituted to the Canterbury benefice by Parker. This would be done at Beakesbourne or at Canterbury or at Lambeth or wherever Parker happened to be at the time.³ Admission meant that Parker found the nominee to be satisfactory for the serving of a spiritual cure in his diocese. It was at this time that the clergyman would take the oath of supremacy (sometimes, incidentally, by proxy⁴). If Parker was not satisfied with the man presented he could refuse admission. The final step was the 'induction' of the clergyman into the temporal rights, i.e., the income and

1. See, besides the works of J.E. Neale and J. Hurstfield, W.T. MacCaffrey, 'Place and Patronage In Elizabethan Politics' in Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale, ed. S.T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C.H. Williams (London, 1961), pp. 95-126; N. Sykes, 'The Duke of Newcastle as Ecclesiastical Minister', EHR., LVII (1942), 59-84.

2. E.g., MacCaffrey, op.cit., p. 106.

3. Reg., pp. 803, 806, 853. Except where otherwise indicated the material in this chapter has been compiled from Reg., especially from pp. 769-890 and 1097-1140, from C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 19v-29, from Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, from S.P./12/60, fos. 207-209 and from Venn, AC., Foster, AO., and DNB. See also the biographical appendix and my forthcoming article on pluralism in the April, 1967, issue of JEH.

4. E.g., Reg., p. 806, regarding Palley.

use of the properties of the benefice. Induction was usually done on the authority of a writ from the archbishop issued at the time of admission and institution, and by the archdeacon's official or by Parker's diocesan commissary general.¹

During the time of Parker's administration there were approximately 389 institutions of clergymen to parochial benefices in the diocese of Canterbury not including those to prebends and preacherships in the cathedral.² Parker himself was the most important patron in the diocese: he made 147 of the presentations or, using the exact technical expression covering the fact that he was both patron and diocesan, he made 147 collations to parochial benefices in his diocese. The other presentations were made by seventy other patrons, and this represented one of the limitations on Parker's authority. That is, he was only the most important among seventy-one patrons of benefices in the diocese. The Queen placed forty-two of the clergy, the dean and chapter of Canterbury placed seventeen, All Souls' College, Oxford, placed eight, the archdeacon of Canterbury ten, and the dean and chapter of Rochester eight. The other sixty-five patrons,³ among whom the Kent gentry were

1. E.g., Reg., p. 1116 regarding Goodrick.

2. Table below p. 363.

3. Included among the sixty-five were Edward Awchar (Awger, Ager, Agar) of Bishopsbourne, gent. (1 presentation); William Ager, gent. (3 presentations); Robert Avis, M.A., canon of St. Paul's, London (1 presentation); John Bacon, gent. (1 presentation); Richard Baker, esq. (knighted in 1578) (1 presentation); Nicholas Barbour of Ridley, Staffs., yeoman (1 presentation); Richard Barbour, master of All Souls, Oxford (2 presentations); William Boyes of Denton, esq. (1 presentation); William Boyes of Tilmanston (1 presentation); Edward Boyes (1); Thomas Barry of Bishopsbourne, gent. (2); Thomas Brymstone (1); Symon Cheyne, gent. (1); Sir Henry Cheyne of Tuddington, Beds., gent. (2); dean and chapter of Chichester (Hugh Turnbull, S.T.B., being dean) (2); Gervase Cockerage, gent. (1); Thomas Cole, S.T.B., archdeacon of Essex (1); John Crypse, esq. (2); Sir William Damsell (4); George Durborne of Ripple, yeoman (1); Eastbridge Hospital (William Swerden, gent., being master) (1); Robert Eddolf, gent. (2); Eton College (1); Thomas Fane of Goudhurst, esq. (1); Thomas Fane, junior, esq. (1); Edward Fogg, esq. (1); Thomas Fuller of Ashford, yeoman (1); Christopher Gay of Denton, esq. [later gent.] (4); Sir Humphrey and lady Anne (née Agar) Gilbert (1); lady Mary Hales, widow (1); William Hales, gent., and Warham St. Leger, esq. (1); Richard Hawke of Wye (2); Thomas Hendley, esq. (1)

(continued on the next page)

strongly represented, were for the most part patrons of only one or two clergymen during Parker's administration. Parker had no control over whom the patrons presented to him, and in all but a very few cases the men presented by the patrons were accepted by Parker. Nor did Parker seem to mind what amounted to simony. That is, in many cases the actual patron was not the man who owned the advowson: the owner of the advowson 'conceded' the patronage for one time to the actual patron---all of which was duly recorded in Parker's register. One example, more complicated than most, was that of Nicholas Barbour of Ridley, Staffs., yeoman. In 1570 Nicholas Barbour presented to Harrietsham one Richard Barbour. Nicholas had been conceded the patronage 'pro hac vice' (p.h.v., i.e., for this time only) by the master and scholars of All Souls' College, Oxford. The instructive part is that Richard Barbour, D.D., was himself master of All Souls'.¹ Harrietsham was to him a sinecure to which, through a relative, he had presented himself.

No clear evidence emerges of patrons with recusant, or radical, inclinations using diocesan patronage to further clergymen with unorthodox views. Perhaps this was one reason why Parker, at least as far as the evidence goes, offered few objec-

Henry Horne, esq. (2); Richard Hovenden as master of All Souls (3); Gilbert Hyde, gent. (1); William Isley of Chart-next-Sutton (1); John Johnson, gent. (1); Paul Johnson, gent. (2); Sir Thomas Kempe (4); William Lovelace, esq. (3); Elizabeth Master (1); Sir Thomas Moyle (1); William May, Ll.D., dean of St. Paul's (1); Nicholas Mund of Nonnington, gent. (1); William Necton of Norwich (later of London), gent. (2); Alexander Nowell as dean of St. Paul's (1); James Owen, yeoman (1); Thomas Peyton, esq. (2); William Pordage, gent. (1); John Raynolds of the Inner Temple, gent. (1); Thomas Reader, gent. (1); Sir Richard Sackville (1); St. John's College, Cambridge (James Pilkington, S.T.B., being master) (1); Warham St. Leger, esq. (2); Nicholas St. Leger of Eastwell and lady Katherine (née Fynche) (2); Christopher Sampson, gent. and Walter Day, yeoman (1); the mayor and jurates of Sandwich (1); Thomas Scott, esq. (3); John See, gent. (1); Thomas Spilman, gent. (1); William Swerden, gent. (2); John Tomlyn of Sittingbourne, yeoman (1); John Tufton, esq. (1); John Tunbridge of Ditton, yeoman (1); Salmon Wylkyns, gent. (2); John Wolton, junior, of Smerden (1); Thomas Wotton of Boughton Malherbe, esq. (3); patron not named (16).
1. Reg., pp. 593, 860.

tions to such clergy as were presented to him. I have found one exception to this: Sir William Cromer, of somewhat puritanical leanings, did try to influence, for religious reasons, Parker's choice for one post,¹ but Cromer's own patronage was limited---he presented only Simon Clarke, M.A., during the time of Parker's administration.² In general, however, the religious beliefs of the clergy presented to Parker during his administration reflected no strong religious alignment of the patrons.

Some patrons were so indifferent to their ownership of advowsons that they did not even use them, but this was not true of Parker himself. Not only did he use to the full the patronage which was the permanent property of the archbishopric, but he also used patronage which came with private wardships,³ patronage which fell to him as a result of deprivation of clergymen,⁴ and he also carefully watched for advowsons which reverted to the archbishopric 'pro lapsu temporis'.⁵ That is, according to law if the owner of an advowson failed to present to a benefice within six months of its falling vacant, the advowson, for one time, became the property of the archbishop as diocesan of Canterbury. For example, in 1564 Parker collated Thomas Turpyn to Crundale⁶ because the owner of the advowson had failed to present a clergyman. At least eleven of the 147 collations made by Parker in his diocese were made 'by lapse'.

The 147 collations which Parker made were of 127 different clergymen. That is,

1. C.C.C.C. MS./114B, fo. 743 (27 July, 1560).
2. Reg., p. 784.
3. Ibid., p.831.
4. Ibid., pp. 569, 570, 834, 845, 853, 1099-1102.
5. Ibid., p. 807.
6. Ibid., p. 810.

there were twenty¹ clergymen whom Parker collated to more than one benefice in Canterbury diocese. This does not necessarily mean that the twenty were pluralists (though Armetridinge, Hardyman, Odingsell, Pearson, Wood, Allen, Roger and Watts were), because in some cases a second collation simply represented a promotion and the clergyman had (or would shortly) resign his other benefice.

To a considerable extent Parker used his diocesan patronage for many of the same purposes, or at least in similar ways, for which Elizabethan patrons used their secular patronage. His servants were paid in part by diocesan benefices. Thus, chaplain John Joscelyn,² who was also one of Parker's literary assistants, chaplain Andrew Pearson and chaplain William Morphett³ held diocesan benefices in absentia (though the ^{latter two} both did some work in the diocese),⁴ and two of Parker's three successive diocesan commissaries, Stephen Nevinson and Thomas Lawse, both held diocesan benefices from which they were usually absent.⁵ Young men, such as Edward Dering and John Bridges, whom Parker believed showed promise, he would give diocesan benefices in order to help them on their way up. Parker's own relatives were not ignored: his step-brother John Baker (a layman) had some part in administering archiepiscopal temporalities, and in 1568 Parker collated to the rectory of Ickham-cum-Well one Samuel Harlestone, B.A., a relative of Margaret Harlestone of Mattis-hall, Norfolk, Parker's wife. (Harlestone died as rector of Ickham in 1616.⁶)

1. John Armetridinge, Matthew Allen, Robert Bannester, John Caldwell, M.D., Richard Fletcher, M.A., Eustace Frencham, John Hardyman, S.T.B., John Hill, S.T.B., William Hawkins, John Igulden, S.T.B., Henry Larke, Nicholas Munday, Henry Morrey, William Marshe, Thomas Odingsell, B.A., Andrew Pearson, S.T.B., Richard Phountayne, Simon Stone, William Watts and William Wood.

2. P.C.C./1564/28 Stevenson (will of Sir Thomas Joscelyn, father of John); P.C.C./1579/10 Rowe (will of dame Dorothea Joscelyn, widow of Thomas).

3. P.R.O./S.P./12/76, fo. 34v; cf. Reg., pp. 809, 817, 818 and 860; Cant. MSS./Z/3/9, fo. 108; /X/8/9c, fo. 311.

4. Reg., pp. 772, 801, 847.

5. See biographical appendix.

6. Reg., p. 843; Garrett, Exiles, pp. 176-77; Venn, AC., I, ii, 308; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/43, fos. 21-22.

Some of the men, such as Christopher Yaxley, M.A.,¹ and John Bungay,² whom Parker collated to Canterbury benefice were of Norfolk (though more were of Kent)³ origin, and some at least had been students at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Forty-eight⁴ of the 127 clergymen whom Parker gave diocesan parochial benefices were, or shortly became, university graduates. Another man, William Wood, probably also held a degree, but because of the commonness of the name he is indistinguishable from several others.⁵ William Ackworth,⁶ William Marchantin,⁷ Francis Redman,⁸ and Thomas Swyfte⁹ had attended university but had not taken a degree.

Even if concomitant pluralism and non-residence meant that they were

1. Reg., pp. 117, 197, 449, 807, 817; Fasti, I, 447; Visitations of Norfolk, 1563, 1589, 1613, ed. W. Rye, Harleian Society Publications, XXXII (1891), 327; P.C.C./1570/27 Lyon; DNB., sub Francis Yaxley.

2. P.C.C./1595/6, 16 Drake.

3. Ezechial Fogg, B.A. (ob. c. 1625) was probably of Kent. Cf. P.C.C./1564/28 Stevenson (will of Sir John Fogg), and P.C.C./1568/19 Peter (will of John Fuller, alderman of Canterbury).

4. Robert Alexander, B.A., William Absolom, B.A., Richard Beseley, S.T.B., John Butler, Ll.B., William Barker, B.A., Thomas Becon, S.T.P., John Bungey, M.A., Thomas Bickley, S.T.B., John Bendall, B.A., John Bridges, M.A., John Caldwell, M.D., Edward Craddock, S.T.D., William Darrell, M.A., Edward Dering, S.T.B., Christopher Englund, B.A., Richard Fletcher, M.A., Thomas Fell, B.A., Ezechial Fogg, B.A., Hugo Gervas, M.A., Reginald Grome, B.A., Thomas Godwyn, S.T.P., John Hardyman, S.T.P., John Hyll, S.T.B., Samuel Harlestone, B.A., John Igulden, S.T.B., Humphrey Jurden (Churden), B.A., John Joscelyn, M.A., William Kynge, S.T.B., Thomas Knell, B.A., Peter Lymiter, M.A., Thomas Lawse, M.A., Roger Matthew, B.A., William Marshe, M.A., John Melvyn, M.A., Alexander Nowell, M.A., Stephen Nevinson, Ll.D., Thomas Odingsell B.A., Andrew Pearson, S.T.B., Thomas Palley, B.A., Thomas Pett, B.A., John Picarde, M.A., Richard Rogers, M.A., (another) Richard Rogers, S.T.B., Richard Webbe, B.A., John Whitinge, M.A., Robert Pownall, D.D., and Christopher Yaxley, M.A. Not all of these men are to be found in Venn, AC., or in Foster, A0.

5. Cf. biographical appendix.

6. Cant. MS./X/10/17, fo. 130; Venn, AC., I, i, 4.

7. Ibid., I, iii, 140; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 21.

8. Venn, AC., I, iii, 435; cf. Reg., pp. 405, 798, 858; Cant. MS./X/8/9c, fos. 17, 25v.

9. Venn, AC., I, iv, 192 (?); Cant. MSS./Y/2/20, fo. 39; /Y/2/24, fo. 2; /X/1/5, fo. 20.

not an unmixed blessing, Parker deserves some credit for appointing such a high proportion (at least 40 of those he collated) of university-trained men at a time when in his diocese, at least in 1561, forty-eight churches, or about fifteen per cent of the churches, had a graduate clergyman.¹ Some of the graduates whom Parker patronized were to become eminent: Thomas Bickley rose to the episcopate and so did the voluble Anglican protagonist and butt of Marprelate's wit, John Bridges.² Some, especially those such as Robert Pownall, D.D., who also held cathedral offices, rose to considerable eminence within the diocese itself. Surely if such men were at work within the diocese, they would have contributed much to diocesan spiritual life that the men lacking a university education, even if they were permanently resident and single-beneficed, could not.

Certain it is that the graduates placed by Parker stand in frank contrast with most of the diocesan clergy, and especially with those who had had no university training. Contemporaries recognized the difference---a non-graduate curate was usually styled 'Sir', a graduate 'Master'. An example of the unexciting nature of the average non-graduate clergyman is that of George Basset. Basset was curate, of Whitstable, where the rectory was inappropriate and the vicarage unendowed,³ from 1561 until the end of Parker's administration. In 1563 the Queen presented him for Luddenham rectory⁴ and in 1564 he added to this, on the patronage of a local squire, the rectory of Swa^{le}cliffe.⁵ He did not bother to obtain a dispensation for plurality until 1569.⁶ Then in 1574 Parker collated him vicar of Boughton-under-Blean⁷

1. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 20-29v.

2. DNB., *sub nomine*.

3. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 21.

4. Reg., p. 802.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 807.

6. P.R.O./S.P./12/76, fo. 46v; Lambeth MS./723, fo. 26v.

7. Reg., pp. 1093, 1130.

and he resigned Swaycliffe the following year.¹

Basset was not a graduate and he did not preach and thus, even though he lived right at Swaycliffe, all that his flock (122 households and 361 parishioners until he added Boughton)² could expect from him, or his relative Albert Basset whom he made curate of Luddenham,³ would be communion, common prayer, wedding, baptism and burial. True it is that Basset, because of his pluralism, his reasonably uneventful career, and the fact he lived into the more prosperous (for Canterbury clergymen) later years of Elizabeth's reign, was in a better financial position than many of the same status in the diocese. Luddenham rectory at £12 8s 4d, Swaycliffe rectory at £10 9s 4d, Boughton at £9 4s 8d, and Whitstable curacy meant that, at least in one year, Basset's income was over £30⁴, and when he died he left household goods whose inventory value was £109 15s 10d. They included £10 7s 4d worth of books, armour for a light horseman, a pistol, a dagger, six horses, four cows and a great deal of bedding, cooking utensils, farm and garden tools, malt, etc.⁵ He would have been able to give a measure of hospitality.

To turn attention from just those clergy whom Parker patronized to the whole body of Canterbury clergy during Parker's administration there are certain more-or-less objective statements which it is possible to make. First of all, the majority of the beneficed clergy had no better (and probably generally poorer,) educational qualifications than George Basset. In 1561, for example, one hundred and ten Canterbury diocese churches reported a learned ('doctus') clergyman---a description which, according to the standards of those who drew up the survey, would have fitted Basset exactly; it simply meant that the clergyman was well enough

1. Reg., pp. 1138.

2. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fos. 19, 31v.

3. Ibid., fo. 19.

4. VE., I, 91, 97, 98.

5. Maidstone Ms./P.R.C./10/22, fos. 9-10v (inventory); cf. Will: P.R.C./17/48, fos. 95-96.

educated (in Latin or English or both) to fulfill routine offices such as common prayer. (Two other churches reported, probably more candidly than the other parishes, that their clergyman was 'doctus sic satis'---learned enough for the (routine) offices. Seventy-five other churches reported that their clergyman was only moderately learned, two that their clergyman was learning Latin, one that their clergyman (Thomas Fisher) was 'doctus sicut monachus', one that their clergyman was as learned as his predecessor, two that their clergyman was unlearned as far as memorization was concerned, one that their clergyman was scarcely learned and fifteen reported their clergyman as completely unlearned. (The other parishes had no clergy).¹

Early congregationalists criticized the advowson system of appointing clergy--- a thing to be expected from advocates of a 'gathered church'.² But Thomas Becon also, from within the ranks of the established church and of the Canterbury clergy, would have preferred the selection of the clergy by the parishioners of the church in which they were to serve.³ Becon writing in 1565 thought that the mediocre quality of the parish clergy was due, more than anything else, to the way in which they were chosen. And it certainly seems that Parker often had his own interests, and those of the senior clergy, more at heart than the interests of the parishioners ---for example, when he used benefices as payment for John Joscelyn and Thomas Lawse and when he collated Thomas Godwyn, who already had the deanship of Canterbury cathedral, a prebend, two rectories and a known income of £88 16s 8d per year,⁴ to ----

1. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 19v-29.

2. R[obert H[arrison]], A Treatise of the Church and the Kingdome of Christ (c. 1580), The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne, ed. A. Peel and L. Carlson (London, 1958), 36, 39, 40.

3. T. Becon, Works, II, 7. Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz. (1547-80), p. 435, number 28; p. 447, numbers 21, 34.

4. S.P./12/76, fos. 207-207v.

the rectory of Rucking¹ which was worth at least another £13 13s 5d per annum.² But the problem of providing an adequate clergy was exceedingly complicated and the matter of evaluating Parker's accomplishments in this almost as complicated. Becon complained that the clergy were not paid enough, yet it was precisely through the advowson system some of the clergy were able to acquire enough offices to be able to maintain the standard of living which was expected of them. For example, the eighteen senior Canterbury cathedral officers had among them in 1569 59 benefices from which they drew a total revenue (nominally---actually it was probably more) of £1583 14s 3d or an average of almost exactly £88 per annum each.³ This was in contrast to the usual small value of the benefices in Canterbury diocese: for example, 143 of the benefices were of a value of £10 or less.

The importance for the diocese of these senior, albeit sometimes absentee, favourites is further revealed by indications of the dearth of good sermons. One hundred and fifty-three, or about half, of the Canterbury churches reported in 1561 that their clergyman did not preach at all. Only fifty-two of the churches, or about one-sixth of them, reported that their clergyman preached or was at least licensed to do so. Some of those fifty-two reported that their clergyman preached badly or infrequently.⁴

The situation, taking into account overlapping due to pluralism, had not greatly changed by 1569 when there were only 42 of the parish clergy who preached and two of the eleven deaneries had no preacher at all.⁵

The lack of sermons was very frequently a cause of complaint to visiting

1. Reg., p. 1110.

2. VE., I, 94.

3. P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fos. 207-207v.

4. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 20-29.

5. P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 208v.

ordinaries. The law required that every church have at least four sermons a year and in the majority of parishes this meant that an outside preacher was hired four times a year to come in to preach. Even this requirement, judging from the number of complaints about the lack of quarter sermons, placed a strain on the preachership of the diocese, though often all that was wrong was that the parishioners (or the impropriator) did not want to pay the preacher's fee. (One thing for which Elizabethan clergymen were adequately paid was for preaching---if they wanted to exert themselves preachers could make money by exercising their talents.¹) Clergymen with a university degree did not have to have an episcopal licence to preach in their own cure so the graduate clergymen whom Parker placed would, if they lived in the diocese, provide some sermons for the people. But in 1563 Parker had recalled all preaching licences and after that he licensed relatively few, even of the graduates, to preach outside of their own cure. This is one of the reasons why for the provisions of sermons, especially quarter sermons, the well-endowed cathedral prebends and preacherships were so important. Residence requirements^s were lenient enough to allow the senior cathedral personnel to travel and preach. In 1561 only eight of the prebendaries ever preached but in 1569 it was reported that, in the previous year, the canons had, among them, preached 157 times. The Six Preachers were, potentially, the best source of sermons. They were supposed to reside at the cathedral and to preach there on holidays and at least twenty sermons a year elsewhere in the diocese.² In 1569 four of the six of them had preached a total of 214 times in the cathedral and diocese in the previous year. All four, Richard Beseley, Robert Pownall, Simon Clarke and Edward Barker, were graduate pluralists.

1. A funeral sermon could bring 6s 8d. (Maidstone MSS./P.R.C./17/52, fo. 140; /P.R.C./32/30, fo. 177.)

2. B.M. MS./Harl./1197, fo. 328v. Below pp. 395-404,

The social position of the clergy was a matter much-discussed in Elizabethan England. Educational qualifications, income, the licensing of preachers were issues raised, but a question more directly social was that of clerical marriage, and this is one matter about which it is possible to make objective statements about the Canterbury diocesan clergy. The majority of the diocesan clergy were married. Parker's own marriage, his written defences of clerical marriage,¹ and Elizabeth's threat to have all married canons expelled from the cathedrals, become of more significance when we find that in 1561 seven of the twelve Canterbury cathedral prebendaries and all six of the Six Preachers were married, and that 175 of the parish churches reported that their clergyman was (or had recently been) married, as against only 76 which reported an unmarried clergyman. In 1569 at least 147 of the Canterbury diocesan clergy were married. Such a situation would increase the financial responsibilities of diocesan clergymen and make their 'three-half-penny' benefices seem even less adequate taken singly. (Incidentally, such a situation would hardly have permitted Elizabeth's proposed expulsion of married clergy.)

The wills of ^{clerics}~~clergy~~ who served in Canterbury diocese show how central was their concern to provide for their wives and children and the poor, and the preambles, greatly varying in length, emphasis and content, give some ideas about the religious convictions of the clergy. The key, it seems, to Parker's own religious ideas was that they were not complex. Though he believed in them (they were after ----

1. Cf. T. Martin, A Defence of Priestesses' Marriages... with a preface and additions by Archbishop Parker (1562?) B.M. 697g.13 (2); British Museum Catalogue, CLXXXI, 683; STC., 17518, 17519. H.C. Lea, The History of Sacerdotal Celibacy In the Christian Church (New York, 1957), pp. 418-421, 423, 441. See also M. Parker An Admonition to All Such As Shall Intende to Enter the State of Matrimonie (London, 1603 edition) (B.M. 1891 d 1 folio 23).

all contained in the thirty-nine articles), he carried very lightly the doctrines of justification by faith and the idea that there were souls whom one could place among the elect. The matters about which he wrote and spoke as if they were second nature were the efficacy of prayer,¹ the limitless mercy (in the Erasmian, not Calvinistic, sense) of God, the efficacy of the word of God perceived through study or preaching, the essentially sinful nature of man, the cleansing power of Christ's blood and the saving power of Christ. The biblical and patristic writings were the ones from which he drew most of his inspiration and ideas---Augustine (especially the Confessions, but also Civitas Dei) was a favourite and often quoted by Parker. One of the more intensively theological statements which Parker made was the preamble to his own will:

'Ego Mattheus...constituo...hoc meum...testamentum et ultimam voluntatem meam in scriptis consicio in forma subsequente....Primum, quod ad fidei mei [?] rationem in deum attinet profiteor me certe credere ac tenere quicquid sancta catholica ecclesia credit et acceptat in articulis quibuscunque fidem, spem, et charitatem spectantibus in universa scriptura sancta. Et ubi in hijs dominum v deum quomodo sive imprudentia, sive voluntate sive imbecillitate quacunque offenderim ex animo me criminis et erroris penitet vepamque corde contritus deposco quam remissionem indulgentiamque firmiter confido me obtenturum preciosa morte ac meritis indulgentissimi domini ac servatoris Jesu Christi cuius singulari gratia spero me; etiam aeternorum gaudiorum fore participem tum corporis tum anime in illo die quo universis suis corporibus ad ultimum iudicium resurgent hinc itaque Jesu Christo cum pre [pure?] et spiritu sancto sit omnis honor et gratiarum actio nunc et in omnem [sic] eternitatem amen Animam vero meam lego atque commendo in manus atque tutelam dei patris, filij et spiritus sancti in cuius protectionem,' etc.²

The recurrent ideas in the wills of the Canterbury clergy concerned, first of all, Christ as saviour. The clergymen did not write of salvation through 'faith in Christ', but through 'Christ' or through Christ's sacrifice. The noun was

1. P.R.O./S.P./12/37, fo. 159 (regarding a prayer of thanks for the relief of Malta).

2. P.C.C./1575/39 ~~Bych~~ Pyckering.

'Christ' rather than 'faith'. Prebendary John Butler wrote in 1571:

'First I commytt my sole into the handes of Allmightie God my creator & maker & unto Jhesus Chryste my redeemer and savior by whose onely meryttes, deathe and passion I stedfastlie beleve to be saved & to reste with God my savyor as also to the Holye Ghoste my comforter three personnes and one God to whom be all honor & glory for ever.'¹

A shorter statement of similar ideas was that of Richard Storar, curate of Maidstone and Six Preacher, who wrote in 1582:

'I bequeathe my soule to God and to our saviour Jesus Christ which hathe redemed me with his bloude and delivered me from all my sinnes by whose grace I am saved.'²

Some of the emphasis on Christ as man's only saviour, redeemer and intercessor ---emphasis on salvation 'thorowe the meryts of Christe Jesus my onely saviour and redeemer',³ or 'by the only merytes and passion of Jesus Christe my redemer and saviour'⁴---was in the nature of a denial of the Roman Catholic doctrine of the necessity of the church as an intermediary and purveyor of God's grace.⁵ Though phraseology differed slightly, most Canterbury clergy, like John Hastlyn, trusted 'to be saved by the death and passion of their Lorde and Savioure Jesus Christ and by noe other meanes.'⁶ As John Pemble, vicar of Godmersham, put it in 1582:

'I geve and bequeathe my soule unto almightie God my maker beleving most stedfastly to be saved by the death and passion of Jesus Christe and by no other.'⁷

There was practically no mention of predestination though there was the occasional reference to the elect. The emphasis, instead, was on the freely-available

1. P.C.C./1571/17 Holney.

2. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/34, fo. 168.

3. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/37, fo. 196v (1594), Thomas Lawse.

4. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/30, fos. 177-182 (1562), John Mylls (whose friends included the recusant Thomas Fysshier).

5. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings, VI (New York, 1913), sub 'grace'.

6. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/52, fos. 140-141 (1600) (My underlining).

7. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/34, fo. 222v; cf. fo. 223 (My underlining).

'mercy of almightie God'.¹ John Brainforth simply stated that his 'true, unfayned, and lyvelye faith' was that his sins were 'clerely and freely forgyven [him] by the death, passion and merittes of Jesus Christ [his] sole and lyvely savioure and redeemer',² but for the most part the Canterbury clergy thought of Christ's mercy as being freely-available on condition they were sorry for their sins and would accept the mercy of God. That is, an act of will on the part of men was necessary.

As Thomas Partriche, vicar of Lenham, wrote in 1603;

'I will and commende my soule into the handes of allmightie God my maker, assuredly trustinge to be forgyven and sett free from all my synnes by the obedient death and satisfaction of Christ Jesus whoe is more mercifull then man is sinfull if he be sorrowfull for his transgressions.'³

There was little mention of original, but much of actual, sin. John Bungey, as he put it in a particularly long preamble, besought the

'most holie, blessed glorious and indivisible Trinitie to have mercie uppon my soule and to pardon and forgeve me all my synnes and especyallie this one greatesynne that I have not so diligentlie as I ought nor so oft as I should performed my duetie in the administracion of that office and function which I hadd in the church of God nor taught the people committed to my charge in suche duetifull manner and sorte as in conscience I was bounde to doe againe and againe prayenge that according to his promise [God] doe not iudge me in his rigour but that he doe receive me into his mercye....'⁴

Wills made during certain periods seem to have had features peculiar to them. Thus, many of the wills made by Canterbury clergymen during the last fifteen or so years of Elizabeth's reign often contained a strong re-affirmation of belief in the Trinity.⁵ However, this was not exclusive to one period: many clergymen,

1. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/46, fos. 37v-38 (1584), will of Robert Alexander, B.A., vicar of Hedcome.
2. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/54, fos. 209-211v; Inventory: Maidstone MS./P.R.C./10/37, fos. 369, 369v. (Total value: 39 10s 4d); Reg., pp. 340, 434, 449, 790, 803, 822.
3. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/54, fos. 305-305v (My underlining); Reg., pp. 1105, 1111.
4. P.C.C./1595/6, 16 Drake.
5. E.g., P.C.C./1603/1 Bolein.

including John Mylles in 1562,¹ spoke pointedly of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost. An occasional clergyman specified belief in Christ's re-incarnation.² Some clergymen specifically stated their adherence to the creeds. Andrew Pearson, writing in 1594, for example, spelled out his belief in the Apostles', Nicean, and Athanasian Creeds.³ John Walsall, one of the most highly trained and literate of Parker's diocesan clergy, believed in bodily resurrection:

'I beleeeve that my bodie havinge lyen God's appointed time in the bowels of the earth, it shall in the last daie bee raised by the mightie power of our Lord Jesus Christe by whome my bodie & soule shalbee wonderfullie re-united & everlastingly glorified together.'⁴

If this was a generally held belief, and there are indications that it was (Stephen Nevinson, for example, wrote in his will in 1579 that he did not doubt that he would rise again 'and with these eyes see my lord God and saviour Christ Jesus'⁵), it would help to explain why so much was made of the disinterring and re-interring of the body of Bucer⁶ by Mary and of the body of Parker himself, in the seventeenth century, by the puritans.⁷

An unmistakably genuine sense of gratitude pervades many of the wills. Many state or imply thankfulness for the gift from God of life, of soul,⁸ or of goods. Except for George Boleyn, who said he had what he had at the hand of the Queen, Parker's incumbents all, if they mentioned the matter, said they held their wordly goods from God.⁹ Some of the returned exiles were particularly fervent in

1. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/30, fos. 177-182.
2. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/46, fo. 4v (1584). (Will of Thomas Brimstone vicar of Stone.)
3. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/37, fo. 201v.
4. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/63, fo. 14.
5. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/34, fo. 166v.
6. E.W. Perry, Under Four Tudors (London, 1940), pp. 144, 197.
7. H.M.C., Seventh Report, Appendix, pp. 149, 153, 155.
8. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/54, fo. 209.
9. E.g., Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/31, fo. 175 (1568), will of Theodore Newton.

their expression of gratitude to God. Virtually the whole will of Richard Beseley, for example, is a declaration of gratitude and of faith.¹ But even those who had not been exiled often wrote expressions of gratitude which seem to have been more than a mere formality.

1. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/35, fo. 167v.

CHAPTER VI

PARKER AND DIOCESAN NON-CONFORMITY, PART 1.

In spite of Kent's reputation as a hot-bed of sacramentarianism and heresy,¹ Parker, in the early years of his administration, had very few problems with religious radicalism in his own diocese.² With the possible exception of clergymen such as vicar William Kynes of Godmersham,³ for example, there were few if any deprivations for radical non-conformity in Canterbury diocese at the height of the vestiarian controversy in 1565 and 1566. It will be the purpose of this chapter to examine Parker's attitude towards puritanism as related to his diocese and to try to understand how it was he was able to employ certain people in his diocese.

The absence of serious trouble was not because the diocese lacked returned exiles and others with continental experience---there was more than enough of them to form a definite party of resistance to the settlement if they had wished so to do.⁴ Religious refugees from fallen Calais, including such figures as

1. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/2; V.C.H. Kent, II, 80; D.M. Loades, Two Tudor Conspiracies (Cambridge, 1965).

2. Cant. MSS./X/1/2 to /X/1/7; /X/10/7; /X/10/8; /X/10/9; /X/10/10; /X/10/12; /Z/3/8, etc.

3. Reg., pp. 787, 817; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 21v; Cant. MS./X/8/3, fo. 70v. Kynes was not listed as an exile in C.H. Garrett, The Marian Exiles (Cambridge, 1938).

4. J.E. Neale, Parliaments, I (London, 1953), 51-68.

John Butler, Ll.D.¹ and William Wattes² early began to arrive at Dover and they were joined by 1560 by many returning exiles. In addition there were the lay religious refugees from the continent such as Amandus Colfe and his wife Katherine Bradfield. Descended of English parents, Amandus and Katherine were 'good Christians and zealous professors of the Gospel' who

'after their loss of their greate estate at the surprising of Calise by the French in Queene Marie's dayes, by God's speciall Providence at the Queen's death came over into and were seated in Kent, and lived in a house without the Westgate of the Citty of Canterbury'

and they and their descendants prospered greatly.³

Miss Garrett listed thirty-four exile adult males who had originally been 'of Kent'.⁴ Not all of these thirty-four played a part in the diocese of Canterbury during Parker's administration: William Fyneux, gent., John Hales, gent., John Joseph, D.D., John Ponet, D.D. and Edward Randall died abroad,⁵ and some who did return, such as John Dawes (Dowes), artisan of Tunbridge, Edmund Allen, bishop-elect of Rochester⁶, and Francis Walsingham, gent.,⁷ did not reside in Canterbury diocese. There were, however, at least 26 of those originally 'of Kent' who came back to live at places within the diocese of Canterbury.

1. P.C.C./1571/17 Holney; T. Cranmer, P.P.S., Works, II, 275n, 277, 334, 348, 373, 391n; appendix.

2. Cant. MS./X/10/17, fos. 182-183.

3. Quoted from the will of Colfe's grandson in The Register of the Wallon or Strangers' Church in Canterbury, ed. Robert Hovenden, Huguenot Society, V, ii (1894), 746. Thomas Colfe, a seven-year-old refugee from Calais, was wandering the streets of London in 1563. H.G. Owen, 'The London Parish Clergy In the Reign of Elizabeth I' (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1957), pp. 9-10. Cf. The Register of Canterbury Cathedral, ed. R. Hovenden (London, 1878), p. 1.

4. C.H. Garrett, The Marian Exiles (Cambridge, 1938).

5. Ibid., pp. 159, 172, 201, 253.

6. Venn, I, i, 17; Reg., pp. 427, 769, 1050; DNB.; cf. EHR., LXII (1947), 214. Garrett, Exiles, sub nomine.

7. Ibid., pp. 141, 319.

Among the more prominent laymen who had been exiles and had some influence in the diocese during the time of Parker's administration were Edward Boyes, Richard Crispe, Christopher Hales and Edward Isaac---all 'gents.'¹ Less influential laymen who also returned to Canterbury diocese were Thomas Allen, student, Roger Ashton, Thomas Sprat, tanner, Thomas Randall, B.C.L., Richard Proude, student and gent., and---all gents.---Richard Bertie, John Brooke, Edward Caunt, Gawin Dixon, Francis Wilsford, Thomas Wilsford, Thomas Whetnall and William Hammond.² The clergymen (or students who later became clergymen) who were exiles of Kent and who returned and served in Canterbury diocese during the time that Parker was archbishop were pluralist John Appleby (vicar of Norton, and chaplain to Bishop Guest),³ Anthony Carriar, Edward Frencham, James Peers, Richard Rogers, Thomas Knell, Henry Wood, William Porrege and Thomas Mountain.⁴ Besides these exiles who had originated in Kent there were men who came from other parts of England who, upon their return from exile, served as clergymen in the diocese of Canterbury while Parker was archbishop. Among these men were Alexander Nowell, John Bale, Thomas Becon, Thomas Bickley, Richard Beseley, Lancelot Ridley, Richard Turner, Robert Pownall, John Turner, John Bendall, and Richard Rogers (bishop suffragan of Dover after 1569). Two foreign protestants who had to flee England at the time of Mary's succession but who held benefices in Parker's Canterbury were Peter Alexander and Rudolph Chevalier. In addition there were

1. Ibid., pp. 95, 120, 171, 195.

2. Ibid., passim.

3. Ibid., p. 72; AC., XLIX (1937), 87; S.P./12/76, fos. 16v, 34v; C.C.C.C. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 19; cf., for a John Applebie, cl., probably this man's son, Venn, I, i, 35; AC., XXXI (1915), 191-193.

4. Garrett, op.cit., pp. 109, 158, 247, 266-7, 342, passim.

laymen from outside of Kent who were exiles who lived in Parker's diocese. Among these were Thomas Cranmer, John Turpyn, gent., John Brown and William Master. It also seems highly probable that some clergymen like Peter Place were in exile, though we have no record of it. But aside from men like Place, we know for certain that there were at least forty-three men in the diocese of Canterbury during the time of Parker's administration who had spent some time on the continent as exiles during the reign of Mary.

Some of these returned exiles have been classified as puritans by modern scholars but for some of them at least Parker had the highest respect. In 1564, for example, when Parker feared invasion from France, he singled out for special recommendation as an addition to the commission of the peace, Edward Boyes, gent., one of the richest of the returned exiles, whom Parker regarded as 'an honest, staid, gentleman.'¹ A similar relationship existed between Parker and Thomas Wotton, a gentleman of Boughton Malherbe in Canterbury diocese. Modern scholars would label Wotton as a 'dull, sanctimonious fellow' and a puritan,² but in 1567, when Parker wanted to substantiate one of his own statements, he wrote to Cecil that 'Mr. Thomas Wotton may be asked',³ and in 1573 Parker heard with complete equanimity the news that the Queen was going to visit Thomas Wotton and he sent to Burghley an advanced copy of Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent---which book

1. Corresp., p. 204; C.H. Garrett, pp. 95-96.

2. Thomas Wotton's Letter-Book, 1574-1586, ed. G. Eland (London, 1960). Cf. review by J. Hurstfield, EHR., LXXVII (1962), 154.

3. Corresp., p. 304.

Parker knew that Lambarde proposed to dedicate to Wotton.¹ (Though they did not figure directly in the administration of the diocese of Canterbury, it should also be noted that Parker was in agreement with John Foxe the martyrologist² and with John Day the publisher,³ both of whom are frequently classified by modern scholars as puritans.⁴)

In order to understand Parker's attitude towards those who, by 1564,⁵ were coming to be known as puritans it is necessary first of all to realize that the word has by now been extended far beyond what Parker thought of when he used it. Within a few years after Parker's administration the word had begun to be devalued and to imply attitudes to morality, for example, which were not essentially different from those of Parker or of Cardinal Pole.⁶ Job Throckmorton stated some of the problems in the use of the word when, in 1586, he protested against the way in which 'puritanism' was being

'applied to all righteous intentions. "To bewail the distresses of God's children, it is puritanism. To reprove a man for swearing, it is puritanism.

1. Ibid., p. 441; F.B. Williams, Dedications... (London, 1962), p. 203; STC., 15175. Wotton's will: P.C.C./1586/4 Spencer. A.F. Pollard, 'Nicholas Wotton', DNB., XXI, 975 records that Thomas Wotton, who was the dean's nephew, presented all of the dean's books and papers to Cecil in 1583. In 1570 Elizabeth granted Wotton the next two advowsons which fell vacant in Canterbury cathedral. (Cant. MS./Reg. V² (1567-69), fo. 96.)

2. Corresp., pp. 160, 230, 217n.

3. Ibid., pp. 411, 449, 468.

4. Knappen, pp. 101, 125, 134, 161, 172, 178, 180-181, 194, 197, 315, 377, 369, 458, 494-95, 507.

5. OED., sub 'puritan'; du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infirmae latinitatis, Paris edition, 1938, VI, 575; R.B. Perry, Puritanism and Democracy (New York, 1964 reprint), p. 68; P. Collinson, 'The Puritan Classical Movement in the Reign of Elizabeth I' (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1957), appendix; Corresp., p. 409, S.P./12/60, fo. 209; M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism (Gloucester (Mass.), 1963 reprint), pp. 487-493; Stowe, Memoranda, p. 143.

6. See Pole's articles for Canterbury diocese and Cambridge University in Visitation Articles and Injunctions, ed. W.H. Frere and W.P.M. Kennedy, II (London, 1910), 385-391, 415, 421, 422-426.

To banish an adulterer out of the house, it is puritanism. To make humble suit to Her Majesty and the High Court of Parliament for a learned ministry, it is puritanism...I fear me we shall shortly come to this, that to do God and Her Majesty good service shall be counted puritanism...It pleased good Mr. Babington to bestow this name and title on my Lord of Leicester and Sir Amias Paulet. 'The Lord send her Majesty store of such puritans.'"¹

Parker would have agreed with most of Throckmorton's major sentiments because as far as Parker was concerned what was really at issue was not morality, preaching, etc., but jurisdiction---the locus of sovereignty and the way in which power was distributed within and outside of the church.

This was typical of the English reformation: the act in restraint of appeals (1533) spoke not of theology but of 'empire', i.e., independence of jurisdiction,² and, in the Elizabethan context, appended to the royal injunctions of 1559 was a statement, in defence of the ecclesiastical claims of Elizabeth, in which it was said that she was asking for no more than had Henry or Edward and

'was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm:...that is, under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them.'³

The reformers of Cranmer's generation attacked papal claims on the ground that the papacy had jurisdiction within the bishopric of Rome only. When Bishop Jewel wrote Apologia Pro Ecclesia Anglicana he began, not with a description and justification of the anglican theological position, but with a description of the organization and power-structure of the church. When Hooker, drawing at least

1. Neale, Parliaments, II, 151.

2. The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary, ed. G.R. Elton (Cambridge, 1960), pp. 332 and note, 344, 351-2, and references given there.

3. D. Wilkins, Concilia, IV, 188.

some of his ideas from the legalistically-minded Aquinas,¹ wrote, he used in the title of his defence of the Church of England the words 'polity' and 'law' but not the words 'theology', 'philosophy' or 'morality'. To use but one example from his books, Hooker thought that bishops were different from other clergymen, not in that consecration had miraculously made of them a different order of men, but that they had wider jurisdiction.² The 'Jewel-Whitgift-Bancroft tradition...saw in the episcopate only an extended power of jurisdiction over the presbyterate',³ and in denying the rightness of a 'parity' of ministers the Elizabethan divines saw the 'difference between the orders of ministry as one of jurisdiction rather than orders'.⁴ Thus, whether the matter under discussion was one involving the internal structure of the church, or the relation of the church with the papacy or crown, the questions most often under discussion was one involving the locus of power. This was the way that Elizabeth saw the matter when she wrote to ~~James VI~~ ^{James VI} ~~James VI~~ in 1590:

'Ther is risen bothe in your realme and myne a secte of perilous consequence, suche as wold have no kings but a presbitrye, and take our place while the [sic] injoy our privilege, with a shade of Gode's word, whiche non is judged to folow right without by ther censure the be so demed. Yea, looke we well unto them.'⁵

It was the way in which James himself saw the matter as of 1604 when he told Parliament that it was the puritan ideas of government, not their doctrines,

1. P. Muntz, The Place of Hooker in the History of Thought (London, 1952), pp.49-67. Cf. E.T. Davies, The Political Ideas of Richard Hooker (London, 1948).
2. R. Hooker, Laws, VII, ii, 3.
3. E.T. Davies, Episcopacy and the Royal Supremacy in the Church of England in the XVI Century (Oxford, 1950), p. 32.
4. Ibid., p. 30.
5. Letters of Queen Elizabeth and King James, ed. Camden Society XLVI (1849), 63. Cf. A.F. Scott Pearson, Thomas Cartwright (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 343-4.

that he disliked. The 'puritans', he declared,

'do not so far differ from us in points of religion as in their confused form of polity and parity, being ever discontented with the present government and impatient to suffer any superiority which maketh their sect unable to be suffered in any well-governed commonwealth.'¹

Parker's own mistrust of the puritans sprang from similar conceptions of their aims. 'God keep us', he wrote to Cecil on 6 November, 1559, 'from such a visitation as Knox have attempted in Scotland, the people to be orderers of things',² and in March 1559, he had written:

'At my last being at London I heard and saw books printed, which be spread abroad, whose authors be of good estimation. The doctrine of the one is to prove that a lady woman cannot be, by God's word, a governor in a Christian realm; and in another book going abroad is matter set out to prove that it is lawful for every private subject to kill his sovereign, ferro, veneno, quocumque modo, if he think him to be a tyrant in his conscience, yea, and worthy to have a reward for his attempt: exhorruui cum ista legerem. If such principles be spread into men's heads, as now they be framed and referred to the judgement of the subject, of the tenant, and of the servant, to discuss what is tyranny, and to discern whether his prince, his landlord, his master, is a tyrant, by his own fancy and collection supposed, what lord of the council shall ride quietly minded in the streets among desperate hearts? /e what master shall be sure in his bedchamber?...They say that the realm is full of Anabaptists, Arians, Libertines, Free-will men, etc., against whom only I thought ministers should have needed to fight in unity of doctrine. As for the Romish adversaries, their mouths may be stopped with their own books and confessions of late days. [But] I never dreamed that ministers should be compelled to impugn ministers. The adversaries have good sport among themselves to prognostick the likelihood.'³

These statements indicated the principal reason for Parker's resistance to the puritans: he saw the radical agitation as a threat to the established order, as a challenge to the existing polity, and as the first step towards a republic

1. Statutes and Constitutional Documents: 1558-1625, ed. G.W. Prothero (Oxford, 1913) p. 283.

2. Corresp., p. 105; cf. G. Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation (Cambridge, 1960), p. 74.

3. Corresp., pp. 60-61. Cf. Parker to Burghley in a similar vein in 1573: Strype. Parker, II, 329.

and a democracy. He did not trust the common people with political power and, as the quotation given above reveals, he had no more sympathy for such incipient contractualism as puritan Christopher Goodman expressed in his How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed (1558) than he had for ideas of equality among the ministers of the church.¹ (The latter was true even though Parker knew that 'bishop' and 'presbyter' had originally been interchangeable descriptions.)² Moreover he thought it was wrong for a subject to express himself about his sovereign in the way that Knox had in his First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women (1558).

Parker, (like Elizabeth and James later on), did not think that the puritan agitation was solely a matter of religion or of church government: he thought that what was being discussed was also profoundly political. The Elizabethan puritans, of course, denied emphatically any political aims³ (except, perhaps, on Cartwright's part, some separation of church and state)⁴ and they were undoubtedly among Elizabeth's most loyal subjects; this denial and loyalty account in part for some of the confusion about the extent and nature of Parker's opposition to the puritans. Parker was not primarily concerned about the puritan theology and doctrine in itself but he did think, even before the advent of presbyterianism in its English form, that what the radicals intended 'would have been the most

1. Corresp., p. 526.

2. Poulet, p. 46.

3. A.F. Scott Pearson, Church and State (Cambridge (England), 1928) pp. 1, 130-132, 146-7, etc.; J.E. Neale, Elizabeth I (Harmondsworth, 1952 edn.), p. 313 ff.

4. Scott Pearson, op.cit., pp. 9-40. In 1573 Matthew Hutton, Dean of York, wrote: '...At the begynninge it was but a capp and a surplice and a tygett [which was] complained of ; but now it is growen to bishopps, archbishopps and cathedral churches and the overthrow of order established; and, to speake plaine, to the Quene's Maiestie's authoritie in cause ecclesiasticall.' A Collection of State Papers relating to affairs in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth..., ed. W. Murdin (London, 1759), p. 262; punctuation modernized.

drastic revolution in English history.'¹ For example, in June, 1566, he forwarded to Cecil a letter which he had just received from his close friend Walter Haddon at Bruges. Haddon related how the English non-conformist ideas and books had begun to circulate at Bruges and Parker expressed to Cecil the opinion that an answer to the puritan tracts was needed

'as well in respect of our honesty (who do wear this apparell) as in regard of the cause as it toucheth both the prince and the realm. And surely, sir, if there be not some severity extended, and some personages of reputation expressing a more discontentation toward such disorderly things, it will breed a cease one day in governance.'²

In 1566 Parker publicly charged the puritans with attacking, as well as the Advertisements, 'the prince, the counsaile, the byshops, the learned men & the wyse', and with straying from matters of religion to matters of 'pollicie'.³

One of Parker's favourite metaphors was that those who wanted to abolish the episcopate were merely jumping the fence where it was the lowest; that is, he thought that the agitation against the bishops was merely the first step towards the overthrow of the existing constitution. Thus, he wrote to Cecil on 7 April, 1565:

"I regard God's honour and the public quiet. I wish obedience to the Queen's Majesty and to her laws: the greatest estimation her Highness

1. P. Collinson, 'John Field and Elizabethan Puritanism', Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale, ed. S.T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C.H. Williams (London, 1961), p. 128.

2. Corresp., p. 284, my underlining, Cf. Parker (?) to Haddon, H.M.C., Appendix to the Fifth Report, p. 310.

3. Parker, A Briefe Examination of a Certaine Declaration Lately Put in Print in the Name of Certain Ministers in London Refusyng to Weare the Apparrell (London, 1566) (STC., 10387), p. 205; cf. ibid., p. 237. For authorship see V.J.K. Brook, Parker (Oxford, 1962), pp. 197-199. The original was not paginated but a later user of the Huntington Library copy put in page references which are quoted here for convenience.

can have amongst us. If this matter shall be overturned with all these great hopes etc., I am at point to be used and abused: nam scio nos episcopos in hunc usum positos esse. We be the stiles over which men will soonest leap over. And if we be thus backed there will be fewer Winchesterers...'¹

In February 1575 Parker again employed the same metaphor in a letter to Burghley. Parker pointed out that before he had become archbishop he had been obliged to accept the act of uniformity including certain 'vehement' phrases which explicitly stated that bishops and archbishops were responsible for ecclesiastical discipline. Parker argued that since the act of uniformity pre{supposed royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and was the product of the royal will in ecclesiastical affairs, criticism of him who obeyed the statute was veiled criticism of the Queen. 'If I set forth that religion which I know in conscience is good and confirmed by public authority', he argued, 'if I do the Queen's commandment, for which the precisians hate me, what is meant but to go over the stile where it is lowest?'²

As he had grown older Parker had become increasingly fixed in his opinion that the civil constitution was as much under attack as the ecclesiastical. He wrote, for example, in 1573 that the church was 'sore assaulted' by those who pretended to want reformation but really wanted revolution. 'Neither do they only cut down the ecclesiastical state', he wrote, 'but also give a great push at the civil policy [constitution]'.³ Their colour is sincerity, under the countenance of simplicity, but in very truth they are ambitious spirits and can abide no superiority.'⁴ He said that the 'new devices' were very plausible and appealing to

1. Corresp., p. 237.

2. Corresp., p. 472. For the relevant passages in the Act of Uniformity see G.W. Prothero, Select Statutes...of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I (Oxford, 1913), pp. 17-18.

3. OED., sub 'polity'.

4. Corresp., p. 434.

many 'who labour to live in all liberty', but that the outcome would be a democracy. 'In the platform set down by these new builders', he wrote,

'we evidently see the spoliation of the patrimony of Christ, a popular state to be sought. The end will be ruin to our religion and confusion to our country.'¹

Parker feared a parity in the state and was equally opposed to a parity of ministers,² and he thought that the radicals wanted both. He maintained in 1566, for example, that those who complained about uniformity in clerical garb wanted, if the full truth were stated, to give 'euery man in his paryshe an absolute authoritie';³ he suspected that they wanted no central ecclesiastical authority but wanted to 'let every curate be supreme gouernour in his owne paryshe.'⁴ 'Belyke', he wrote,

'you [who complain about vestments] wyll haue every man to understande as much as the prince and councell knoweth and intendeth; or else you wyll set the subiect at his choyse.

Moreover, here is perylous auctoritie graunted to euery subiect, to determine upon the prince's lawes, proclamations and ordinaunces, that when they shall see them...unprofitable, than shall they, nay, they must not, do and accomplyshe the same. If you restrayne this to matters ecclesiasticall you helpe your selues neuer a whit; for euery minister there hath not full power to make and abrogate ecclesiasticall lawes, nor yet knowledge well to iudge of them.'⁵

'The people to be orderers of things', 'a popular state'---these were among the things that Parker most abhorred. Not only did such things seem to Parker to be 'disorderly', but he and his contemporaries believed, or at least feigned to believe, that 'popularity', i.e., a 'popular or democratic government',

1. Corresp., p. 434.
2. N. Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 30-84.
3. Parker, A Briefe Examination, p. 201.
4. Ibid., p. 235.
5. Ibid., p. 215. Cf. Munz, p. 34.

democratic sovereignty',¹ was inextricably linked with sedition, rebellion, regicide republicanism, destruction of the nobility, and Anabaptism. A contemporary of Parker's wrote in 1548 that the Swiss had 'destroyed their gentlemen in a day' and 'now glory most in their popularity', and, he went on, 'what popular state can be read [of] that hath thirty years together eschewed sects, sedition and commotions?'² Some of the continental experiments frightened Parker and in 1566 he wrote that those Englishmen who refused to wear the apparrell were

'such as haue been eyther unlearnedly brought up, most in prophane occupations, or suche as be puffed up in an arrogancie of themselues, peradventure chargeable to such vanities of assertions as at this tyme I will spare to charge them.

' God graunt they do not by this degree fall to the sectes of Anabaptistes, or Libertines, whereunto some wyse zelous men of theyr owne frendes & patrones feare they do make poste haste one day openlye to professe.'³

Parker's tendency to portray all non-conformity as actual or potential anabaptistry may have been in part an exceedingly clever pose, but his statements grouping anabaptism and puritanism together indicate the degree of his hostility to puritan constitutional and social ideas. Like his Queen, Parker grouped anabaptism along with such 'horrible crimes' as 'rebellion, murder', and robbery.⁴ Whitgift also, at about the same time, grouped together 'contempt of magistrates, popularitie, anabaptistrie, and sundry other pernicious and pestilent errors.'⁵ Thus, in 1573 Parker wrote that he feared England would see 'Muncer's commonwealth attempted shortly' if certain 'dissolute writings' were not suppressed. 'It needs

1. A.F. Scott Pearson, Church and State, pp. 45-46.
2. OED., sub 'popularity'.
3. Parker, A Briefe Examination, pp. 192-3.
4. Corresp., p. 321; J.E. Neale, Parliaments, I, 410.
5. OED., sub 'popularity'.

must follow whereof Sleidan¹ writeth in his history if the law of the land be rejected, if the Queen's Majesty's injunctions [...and] her authority be so neglected, and such paradoxes applauded to.'² To Parker and his contemporaries anabaptism meant communion of property and wives, refusal to take an oath (which refusal 'denieth the principall poynte of obedience dew to magistrates before whom juramentum (as St. Paul sayeth) est finis omnis controversie'³), refusal to have children baptised, pacifism and, an obviously contradictory idea, the violence ~~of Thomas Muentzen~~ at MUnster in 1535---all of which seemed a direct challenge to the sacredness of private property and a challenge to the authority of the state. One of the worst threats that Queen Elizabeth had in her not inconsiderable store of such was the threat to punish someone 'as an Anabaptist'.⁴

Parker knew that protestantism had been established at Geneva 'by a revolt of merchants and shopkeepers against an aristocratic and landed patriciate linked to the Cathedral and leaning on the bishop's authority'⁵, and he thought that the discontented people in England aimed as much at the nobility as at the bishops. Thus, in 1573, he wrote that the author of a letter attacking Burghley had 'more

1. J. Sleidanus, De Statu Religionis et Republicae Carlo V Caesare Commentarii, 2 vols. (Strassburg, 1555); translated into English by J. Daus as A Famouse Cronicle of Oure Time (London, 1560). Cf. STC., 19847-19852. The book's 'Large collection of documents makes it the chief contemporary source for the period though its author's impartiality met with little favour from his contemporaries, Protestant or Catholic. His other writings include a Latin version of Bucer's Shorter Catechism (1544).' Cross, Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church p.1264. Henry Westphaling, vicar of Lypne from 1563 to 1584 and of Westhithe from 1563 to 1585, bequeathed to the overseer of his will 'for his paines' Sleidan's 'Commentary' A.C., XXX (1914), 240.

2. Corresp., p. 426.

3. Grindal and Cox to the Privy Council (1562), Haynes, State Papers, p. 395.

4. Cal. S.P. Span., I, 553.

5. M.E. James, History, L, number 170 (October, 1965), 357.

zeal than wit or wisdom', but that

'surely if this fond faction be applauded to, or borne with, it will..be the overthrow of all the nobility. They be not unwise or unskilful men that see the likelihood. We have to do with such as neither be conformable in religion, nor in life will practise the same. Both papists and precisians have one mark to shoot at, plain disobedience; some of simplicity, some of wiliness and stubbornness. I marvel what prudence it can be first to hew thus at us [bishops] and certainly yourself will shortly follow.'¹

Two other important reasons for Parker's impatience with non-conformity were first, his pessimistic view of the ultimate outcome of democracy and secondly his conviction that resistance to constituted authority was the product of moral waywardness or of some inherent psychological imbalance in the person or persons who challenged authority. To take the second consideration first, Parker thought that complaints about the use of the vestments were 'brawlings of men peruerse in hart'. He thought that the ideas with which he had to contend during the vestiarian controversy were ideas of 'men of corrupt mindes' who were about to subvert and 'pervert' the truth of the gospel with 'human agitations'.² He said that Crowley had brought under suspicion a great number of 'very godly' men 'for spite'.³ He was afraid of the 'unquiet spirits' and of the 'vulgar sort' who were impatient of authority.⁴ When Alexander Neville, Parker's secretary, wrote under Parker's careful guidance, his history of Ket's rebellion, he presented resistance to authority as sin and rebellion and as the most heinous of crimes. The word 'scelere' appears with rather surprising frequency in a work which was supposed to be the study of a political event.⁵ Thus, Parker would have been in general agreement with Hooker who thought that

the 'unquiet wit of mind' was the psychological condition for the whole puritan attack and the arguments that supported it. To Hooker radical reformers are restless spirits; they hate slow methods of change and by their

1. Corresp., p. 437.
2. Parker, A Briefe Examination, pp. 194-5.
3. Ibid., p. 235.
4. Corresp., passim.
5. STC., 18478.

blind fanaticism makes [sic] everything worse in the end. Their violent objection to the present constitution is the typical "conceit of the vulgar sort...whensoever they see anything which they mislike and are angry at... [they] think that every such thing is scandalous."¹

As far as Parker's pessimism about democracy was concerned, he favoured an aristocratic social structure because he thought that democracy was the first step towards tyranny. His statements to this effect sound like a paraphrasing of Plato² and may, perhaps, have been a product of the aristocratic bias of the humanists,³ but were probably primarily the product of Parker's reflections upon the politics and political forces of his own day. Thus, referring to Thomas Cartwright and Edward Dering, Parker said, in 1573, that the people who wanted a 'popular state' and 'all liberty' had no idea of the 'intol/erable servitude' to which they would subject themselves if they succeeded in overthrowing the existing order. 'These fantastical spirits which labour to reign in men's consciences,' he wrote, 'will, if they bring their purpose to pass, lay an heavy yoke upon their [own] necks.'⁴

More specifically, Parker believed that a faction within the privy council was encouraging and protecting the puritans in order to create a popular rebellion which they could then manipulate in order to put themselves in control of the state. A successful coup by this faction was one of the possibilities that Parker had in mind when he said that the simpler sort who were agitating for a

1. P. Munz, The Place of Hooker in the History of Thought (London, 1952), pp. 29-31.

2. The Republic, translated by B. Jowett, 562, Modern Library Edition (New York, n.d.), p. 318.

3. See W.K. Ferguson, The Renaissance in Historical Thought (Boston, 1948), passim.

4. Corresp., p. 434.

'popular state' would, if their agitation was successful, quickly find themselves living within an even more authoritarian polity. Parker thought that the earl of Leicester was at the centre of the conspiracy. Even Edward Dering, Parker's erstwhile vicar of Pluckley, had, in 1573, the friendship of Leicester and the enmity of Burghley. This found expression in the way in which the privy council divided itself. Meeting in Burghley's absence, and going over the heads of Sandys and Parker, the council lifted Dering's suspension from preaching.¹ Parker had mistrusted Leicester from at least 1565 onwards.² He liked neither Leicester's earlier support of the Roman Catholics, nor his later support of the puritans.³ He complained bitterly about the inactivity of the privy council in supporting episcopal actions to obtain uniformity. Sometimes openly, sometimes by inference, he let Burghley know that he blamed Leicester for the 'Machiavel' policy and 'neutral' government⁴ which tolerated both papists and puritans.⁵ In the late 1560's Parker often found himself less able to succeed against the puritans than earlier.⁶ In June, 1573, he suffered a further set back in his campaign against non-conformity and again Leicester seemed to be behind it. Thomas Aldrich, of a Norfolk family, master of Corpus Christi College and, as Parker phrased it, 'an head precisian in despising the degrees of the university and a great maintainer of Mr. Cartwright', seemed to have more support from the Queen and the privy council than did Parker. Aldrich's friends wanted to get him a dispensation for

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 237, 266, 362, 406, 408, 439; cf. Strype, *Parker*, *passim*.
2. P. Collinson, *...The Life and Letters of 'Godly Master Dering'*, (London, 1964), pp. 22-23; *A Parte of a register*, p. 85; Burghley to Dering in J. Strype, *Annals*, (Oxford, 1824), II, ii, 483-6; C. Read, *Burghley* (New York, 1960), pp. 113-115.
3. *DNB.*, sub Robert Dudley.
4. *Corresp.*, p. 391.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 410.
6. Cf. Goodman to Leicester H.M.C., Fifth Report, *Appendix*, p. 309.

plurality and 'to procure him to be chaplain either of my lord of Leicester or of Sir Ralph Sadler to outweigh me and to deface me....'¹ In July, 1573, Edward Dering was restored to his preachership, again against Parker's wishes.² A little after this Parker again wrote to Burghley and this time he said that Leicester was very angry with him for his opposition.³

Two of the last three Parker letters that we have were concerned, for the most part, with the puritans and both mention the puritan-Leicester connection. On 18, February, 1575, three months before he died, Parker wrote to Burghley:

'I am credibly informed that the earl in unquiet, and conferreth by the help of some of the examiners to use the counsel of certain precisians. I fear, and purposeth to undo me, etc. But I care not for him. Yet I will reverence him because Her Majesty hath so placed him, as I do all others toward her. And if you do not provide in time to dull this attempt there will be few in authority to care greatly for your danger, and for such others. I was informed by a wise man that a conspiracy of us was purposed if the parliament had gone forward.'⁴

Parker then went on to say that one of his chaplains, a beneficed clergyman who opposed the puritans, was lying in King's Bench prison for his opposition to the puritans. Then, in his last letter to Burghley, written 11 April, 1575, Parker recommended that Alexander Nowell, 'puritan'⁵ dean of Westminster, be given the vacant bishopric of Norwich; not because, Parker wrote, Nowell was 'toward'

1. Ibid., pp. 427-428; DNB., sub Thomas Aldrich. Francis Aldrich (Aldredge, Aldridge) of the same family, was registrar of the consistory court of Canterbury and one of Parker's most faithful diocesan servants. Reg., pp. 415, 941, 1082, 1134.

2. Corresp., pp. 434-5.

3. Ibid., p. 439.

4. Ibid., p. 472.

5. Garrett, Exiles; DNB., sub Nowell; Knappen, Tudor Puritanism, pp. 191-92.

Burghley, nor because of

'any displeasure that I bear to my lord of Leicester's chaplains, or to Her Majesty's almoner, [or] of any envy to his person; but surely, sir, I speak it afore God, seeing I see her in constancy almost alone to be offended with the puritans, whose governance in conclusion will undo her and all that depend upon her, and that because I see him and very few else which mean to dull that lewd governance of theirs I am therefore affected to him [Nowell]'.¹

Sometime during the last years of his life Parker commissioned his secretary, Alexander Neville, to write a history of Ket's Rebellion of 1549. He paid Neville £100 for 'writing the story'.² Neville echoed Parker's thoughts and ideas in the resulting book De Furoribus Norfolcensium, Ketto Duce.³ Parker's own fright when he was nearly lynched by a faction of those to whom he was preaching⁴ seems to have confirmed him in his belief that all rebellion was sin and in his belief in the necessity of obedience to authority. Moreover, he had first-hand knowledge of what had taken place on Mousehold Heath and Neville drew upon Parker's information. But the circumstances and tone of De Furoribus indicate that Parker inspired its writing for a more specific reason than just as a homily (against rebellion) disguised as history. Neville said that Ket's rebels were the tools of ambitious great men, who were also stirring up the common people in the woods of Kent, and whose aim was the seizure of power.⁵ Parker had said the same thing of those who were encouraging the Elizabethan

1. Corresp., pp. 477-478.

2. Corresp., p. xiii.

3. STC., 18478 (London, 1575). Ann Arbor reel 317. Neville's dedicatory epistle is reprinted in J. Strype, Parker, III (Oxford, 1821), 346-350.

4. J. Strype, Parker, I (Oxford, 1821), 51-54.

5. Ibid., p. 13.

puritans. Beyond that, Ket's rebels, as Professor Bindoff pointed out, thought that they were doing what the central government wanted them to.¹ The implication of Neville's book is that a faction of the council, the Dudley faction, encouraged the rebels and then, having successfully put down the rebellion, used the advantage gained to oust Somerset and seize control of the central government. This could account for the mistake the rebel's made about government policy. It is certain that the chief benefactor of Ket's rebellion, and of the other turmoils of 1549, was Warwick,² so Parker's belief that the son was going to use the same methods as the father should not seem to us too fantastic. Beyond that, Parker thought of Cecil as the principal stable element in the council, as the strongest bulwark against the Leicester faction,³ and, considering that Leicester's father had imprisoned three of Parker's closest friends, Cecil, Haddon and Smith, who had represented the part of the council opposed to Warwick, it is not surprising that Parker should again see the council as split between Cecil and the supporters of authority and a Dudley who wanted to exploit the democratic desires of the simple people in order to put himself into the position of head of state. Finally, considering the way in which Leicester, with the help of the puritans, later defied royal wishes in the Netherlands and assumed the most exalted position in the Low Countries, it may have been that Parker was hitting very close to the mark in his analysis of Leicester's motives for being patron of the puritans.⁴

1. S.T. Bindoff, Ket's Rebellion, 1549 (London, 1949); Tudor England (Harmondsworth, Mx., 1950), pp. 136-139; DNB., sub Robert Dudley, Ket, and Alexander Neville.
2. C.W. Dugmore, The Mass and the English Reformers (London, 1958), pp. 85 and 138-41, 143, 149, 158-9, 174, 194, 200-1.
3. Corresp., pp. 391, 410, passim.
4. F.B. Williams, Index of Dedications... (London, 1962), p. 58; E. Rosenberg, Leicester: Patron of Letters (New York, 1955) pp. 184-229; cf. 64n, 74, 77, 79; Correspondence of...Leicester..., ed. John Bruce, Camden Soc. (1844), passim.

Whether or not this analysis is accurate, it may well be that Parker did have De Furoribus written in order that people might draw obvious parallels between the career of Dudley the father and the machinations of Dudley the son.

Parker's hostility towards the puritans was not because he thought that there was anything inherently sacred in any particular form of church government. 'I would', he wrote in 1573, that 'things were so reformed as may tend to the quiet government of the realm. Otherwise I do not much care for any jurisdiction.'¹ Like Jewel, Whitgift, Andrews^e and Hooker, who regarded the episcopal office as of apostolic not dominical origin, Parker saw nothing inherently sacred in the office of bishop² and, like his contemporaries, thought that he and his brother bishops were heirs of the apostles, not in virtue of any unbroken line of succession,³ but only insofar as their doctrine was the same as that held by the apostles.

Church government and ceremonies, rightly, Parker thought, varied from country to country according to 'custom and usage'⁴ but more particularly according to 'times and places'.⁵ In 1566, after citing writings of Bucer, Martyr, the Fathers and the Old and New Testaments, Parker quoted, with hearty approval, 'the wordes the whole sinode were well pleased withall, & whereunto all the cleargie's handes are set to....:

1. Corresp., p. 436.

2. N. Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter (Cambridge, 1957); B.D. Till, 'Episcopacy In the Works of the Elizabethan and Caroline Divines', The Historic Episcopate, ed. K.M. Carey, 2nd edition (Westminster, 1960), pp. 63-83; cf. E.T. Davies, Episcopacy and the Royal Supremacy... (Oxford, 1950), p. 12; Theology (1949).

3. Brook, Parker, p. 105.

4. A Briefe Examination, p. 221.

5. Ibid., p. 237.

"It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one or vtterly lyke, for at all tymes they haue ben dyuers, and may be chaunged accordyng to the diuersities of countreys, tymes, and men's manners, so that nothyng be ordered agaynst the worde of God. Whosoeuer through his priuate iudgement, wyllyngly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the church, which be not repugnaunt to the word of God, and be ordeyned and approued by common auctoritie, ought to be rebuked openly (that other may fear to do the lyke) as one that offendeth agaynst the common order of the church, and hurteth the auctoritie of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weake brethren"¹

Parker and his contemporaries were quite prepared to accept the rightness of a non-hierarchic form of church government in the cantons of Switzerland or the virtually-independent city-states of the continent, but they thought that England, with a government responsible for a relatively large area, could not, in the interests of national unity, afford to abandon episcopacy in favour of some less-centralized church polity. Moreover, they were prepared to defend and uphold the forms of church government established by law.

'Does your lordship think', Parker wrote to Burghley in exasperation in 1575, 'that I care either for cap, tippet, surplice or wafer-bread, or any such? But for the laws so established I esteem them, and not more for exercise of contempt against law and authority...'² In his Advertisements Parker had also said that the rules contained therein had been set out not as

'laws equivalent with the eternal word of God, and as of necessity to bind the consciences of [the Queen's] subjects in the nature of them considered in themselves or as [if] they should add any efficacy or more holiness to the virtue of public prayer, and to the sacraments, but as temporal orders mere ecclesiastical without any vain superstition, and as rules in some part of discipline concerning decency, distinction, and order for the time.'³

1. Ibid., p. 237.
2. Corresp., p. 478.
3. Advertisements, p. 468.

Thus, the episcopacy was to be retained in England, Parker wrote to Calvin, except for such pre-Reformation aspects of the institution as were 'contrary to God's glory or the English monarchy.'¹

In addition to their recognition of the fact that variety in church government and ceremonies was quite in accordance with patristic teaching and practice, Parker and his contemporaries made a definite distinction between, as they called it, the Church 'under the Cross'² and the Church under a godly magistrate; and this fact is very important for an understanding of Parker's attitude towards Marian exiles returning to the diocese of Canterbury and the attitude of these exiles towards the Settlement. Thus, there were several of Parker's diocesan clergy who had either supported John Knox, or at least had signed the 'new discipline',³ but who, when Elizabeth came to the throne, returned and served, often with enthusiasm, in an episcopal church. To try to explain such behaviour as mere opportunism seems scarcely adequate considering that these men had risked their lives and gone into exile for their convictions---a point (i.e., that he had risked a great deal under Mary) which Parker made in his own defence when accused in 1566 of being a flatterer of princes.⁴ Thus, Richard Beseley, Anthony Carriar, Thomas Knell, junior, and James Peers signed the 'new discipline'; and Carriar, Beseley, and Robert

1. Strype, Parker, II, 69.

2. Whitgift, Works, PPS, I, 390-1; T.M. Parker, 'Feudal Episcopacy', The Apostolic Ministry, ed. K.E. Kirk (London, 1946), pp. 351-386. Cf. A Brief Examination, p. 219.

3. Cf. P. Collinson, 'The Authorship of A Brief Discours off the Troubles Begonne at Franckford', J. Eccles. Hist., IX (1958), 188-208 and references given there.

4. Parker, A Brief Examination, pp. 211-12.

Pownall were strongly Knoxian.¹ One of the important laymen, Richard Crispe, gent., lived out his exile at Geneva. But probably the most eminent example was Alexander Nowell, a Knoxian and a subscriber to the 'new discipline' and sometimes grouped with the puritans by modern scholars;² but on 6 February, 1560, Parker collated Nowell to the rectory of Saltwood-cum-Hythe in Canterbury diocese.³ Not only was this a valuable benefice embracing one of the busiest (in Parker's times) of the Cinque Ports,⁴ but it was the benefice which the archbishops, traditionally, gave to one of their trusted servants. Stephen Nevinson succeeded Nowell in it. Then, on 14 February, 1560, Parker collated Nowell to a second diocesan office: that of canon in the sixth prebend of Canterbury cathedral⁵---a benefice worth forty pounds a year.⁶ Parker's esteem for Nowell never lessened: in 1566, by which time Nowell was dean of St. Paul's and had resigned his Canterbury benefices, Parker suggested Nowell as a lenten preacher before the Queen.⁷ Moreover, of Nowell's many books, his catechisms were adopted for official use in the Elizabethan church.⁸ This continental Knoxian had conformed to the settlement which included the episcopacy, (and conformity was really all that Parker asked),⁹ but beyond that Nowell had

1. Garrett, Exiles, passim.
2. Knappen, pp. 191-92; Garrett, Exiles, sub 'Nowell'.
3. B.M. MS./Stowe/570, fos. 216-219v.
4. Reg., pp. 769, 387, 777; cf. biographical appendix.
5. Ibid., p. 770.
6. S.P./12/60, fo. 207.
7. Corresp., p. 254.
8. DNB.; H.M.C. Ninth Report, Appendix, III, 419b.
9. Corresp., pp. 245, 211n, 251, 254, 260.

become one of the most fervently active supporters and protagonists of the Elizabethan church.

Such behaviour was consistent with the belief held by the Elizabethan divines and by the returning exiles that the form of church government had and would vary from place to place and from time to time.¹ Moreover, their intensive biblical and patristic scholarship led them to the conclusion that the persecuted churches of the first four centuries had had various forms of government² and had not been under much, if any, central control, and they were prepared to concede that under similar conditions, for example, the clandestine churches which met in London during Mary's reign, or the English refugee churches on the continent, congregational or vaguely presbyterian forms of government were still permissible. But such churches 'under the cross' were in a very different position, they held, than churches under the 'godly magistrate'. Under the godly magistrate Christians were obliged to accept the forms of church government and religious observance established by law, and these would no doubt vary from country to country and from time to time: 'each particular [national] church', Parker and his brother bishops wrote in 1562, 'has the authority to institute, change and abrogate ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies.'³ 'Holsome laws of godly magistrates', Parker wrote in 1565, 'make not onely for humayne societie, but also for

1. Hooker, Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, III, X, 7.

2. For a scholarly Roman Catholic discussion of the organization of the church in the first four centuries see Dom C. Poulet, A History of the Catholic Church, translated by S. A. Raemers (London, 1946), p. 46. Even Cecil himself was interested in the question and was owner of a manuscript description of 'the doctrine and government of the primitive church.' H.M.C. Salisbury, I, 133.

3. Advertisements.

God's religion'.¹ (Parker used the phrase 'godly magistrate' quite frequently. While there was justice in variety under a persecuting government, it was completely contradictory to their own best interests for Christians to refuse to obey the dictates of a 'godly magistrate'. Elizabeth, of course, fell into the category of the 'godly prince' as had the 'godly princes' of the Old Testament.²) To Parker it was a scandal that any protestant should raise picayune arguments about apparel when they were so richly blessed with a Queen who was allowing the teaching of the gospel to proceed. Referring to Crowley's examples, especially that of John the Baptist, Parker wrote: 'This is wonderfull shyft, to seke out extraordinary persons & leaue the ordinarie state of God's ministers; to alleage what a prophete beyng persecuted dyd weare, and so necessarily inferre that we may do in quietnes and peace.' Such criticisms were, to Parker, completely insensitive to God's goodness in blessing England with such a Queen.³ The sense of immense gratitude for Elizabeth is often, in Parker, tempered by his habitual pessimism about this life and about human nature, but people like Becon, Nowell and Jewel were not so inhibited. 'The greatest blessing which God giveth to any people', Jewel wrote in his Apology,

'is a godly prince to rule over them. The greatest misery that can fall upon a people is to have a godly prince taken from them. For by the godly prince he doth so rule the people as if God himself were with them in visible appearance.'⁴

The ideas that ecclesiastical government and ceremonies would vary from country to country and that, under a godly magistrate those forms established

1. Parker, A Briefe Examination, p. 207.

2. Sykes, pp. 4-5; Whitgift, Works, I, 390-1; III, 198; Parker, A Briefe Examination, p. 219.

3. Ibid., passim.

4. Jewel, Apology, PPS, Works, IV, 1153; quoted in Sykes, op.cit., p. 6. My underlining. Sykes had relatively little to say about Parker's opinion on these matters.

by law were to be obeyed, were being taught to the people of Canterbury diocese. As early as 1560 John Robson, B.A., vicar of Betrinden,¹ was reported as supporting the form of service on those grounds. Thus, the visiting ordinary was told by the churchwardens of Betrinden:

'Sir John Robson sayd in hys last sermond made at Tenterden that yt was not lawfull for us to use the seruyce used at Geneva. Further he sayd we ought noo more to follow the Geneva Church than the Romyshe Church & the Quene maye bringe in the ceremonys used in Moyses Lawe & maye abolyshe them at her pleasure. With dyuerse other wordes etc.'²

And 'Master Thomas Beakon', as 'vicar' of Sturry³ in Canterbury deanery, conformed to the laws of the land in his performance of the services at that church (or, in 1563-1564, his curate Thomas Brayne conformed)⁴---at least there were no complaints to the contrary during Becon's vicarate and the churchwardens of this parish were accustomed to speak their minds.⁵

Beyond their awareness of historical and contemporary variety in the forms of religious practice and government, and in spite of severe puritan and separatist pressures, Parker, Jewel, Whitgift and Hooker knew that they could not, in all logic, maintain that one form of church government was divine and unalterable. Such an assertion would have been a flat contradiction of the royal prerogative. When, in the 1590's Anglican apologists began to hint that

1. Reg., pp. 387, 772; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fo. 172; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 24v; (?) Foster, I, iii, 1267.

2. Cant. MS./X/1/2, fo. 34.

3. Strictly speaking, Becon was not collated to Sturry until 3 April, 1563, and he had resigned the benefice by 4 May, 1564, when Parker collated Brayne in his place; but the churchwardens were describing Becon as 'vicar' as early as 1562. (Reg., pp. 404, 787, 806; Cant. MS./Z/3/7, fo. 217v).

4. Cant. MS./X/1/5, fos. 21, 93v.

5. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 20v; Cant. MSS./X/1/4, fos. 11v, 12; /X/1/5, fos. 93v-94; /X/1/7, fos. 66v-67.

the episcopal office was of dominical origin, privy councillor Sir Francis Knollys at once protested in a letter to Burghley that the idea was contradictory to the royal prerogative.¹

With what might almost be called ferocity, Parker defended the right of the godly magistrate to legislate in ecclesiastical affairs and the duty of the subject to obey. Those who denied the right of Princes to legislate about such things as apparel were, Parker wrote,

'not ignoraunt what this smelleth of, that is either donastrie or Papestrie, whiche sectes thynke alwayes the true catholiques to geue to[co] much to Princes and Magistrates, when as by God's worde they acknowledge them to be supreme gouernours, not onlye to see lawes framed by the cleargie put in use, but to disanul the naughtie and to decree good and godly.'²

Parker's ideas about ecclesiastical polity were determined by his conviction that the royal will ought to be obeyed in ecclesiastical as well as temporal matters. He told Calvin that the English would keep the episcopacy except for such pre-Reformation parts of it as were 'contrary to God's glory or the English monarchy.'³ 'I would', he wrote in 1573, 'that things were so reformed as may tend to the quiet governance of the realm; otherwise I do not care much for any jurisdiction.'⁴ Like Jewel, Whitgift, Andrews and Hooker, Parker saw nothing particularly sacred about the episcopal office or about the existing church structure,⁵ but he was prepared to defend them with

1. W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, 'Anthony Marten and the Elizabethan Debate on Episcopacy', Essays In Modern English Church History In Memory of Norman Sykes, ed. G.V. Bennett and J.D. Walsh (London, 1966), pp. 45-75. Cf. G.J. Mosse, The Struggle for Sovereignty In England (East Lansing, 1950) and Sykes, op.cit.

2. A Briefe Examination, p. 217.

3. Strype, Parker, II, 69.

4. Corresp., p. 436.

5. N. Sykes, Old Priest and New Presbyter (Cambridge, 1957). Cf. B.D. Till, 'Episcopacy In the Works of the Elizabethan and Caroline Divines', The Historic Episcopate, ed. K.M. Carey, 2nd edition (Westminster, 1960), pp. 63-83.

all possible vigour and means at his command since they were established by law. (Incidentally, the security of Parker's own position in the office of archbishop rested on the royal prerogative.) He thought that a firm policy was the best means of getting uniformity.¹ 'Authority must bridle wilful and stubborn natures'² he wrote in 1559 with reference to Cambridge, and in 1566 he wrote:

'Execution, execution, execution of laws and orders must be the first and last part of good governance, although I yet admit moderations for times, places, multitudes, etc.'

What he did not like, Parker went on in the same letter to Burghley, was the passage of legislation which was not enforced. '...hereafter, for God's love,' he wrote,

'never stir any alteration except it be fully meant to have them established, for or else we shall hold us in no certainty, but be ridiculous to our adversaries, contemned of our own, and give the adventure of more dangers; and thus ye must pardon my boldness. For mine own part I repose myself in silention et in spe, et fortitude me Dominus, howsoever the world fawneth or fumeth.'³

He thought that people like Burghley needed to keep a firm hand on government and be firm in dealing with 'recusants' be they puritan or popish,⁴ and that if he was not firm with them he would very shortly have 'more ado' than he would 'be able to overcome'.⁵ For example, after complaining to Burghley in 1572 about the government's leniency in dealing with some people involved in Norfolk's Rebellion he wrote:

'This Machiavel government is strange to me....As soon is the papist

1. Corresp., pp. 271-2.
2. H.M.C. Sixth Report, Appendix, p. 452.
3. Corresp., p. 246.
4. Parker used the word both ways. Ibid., p. 272.
5. Ibid., p. 410.

favoured as is the true protestant....When the true subject is not regarded but overthwarted, when the rebel is borne with, a good commonwealth scilicet. When the faithful subject and officer hath spent his wit to search, to find, to indict, to arraign, and to condemn, yet must they be kept for a fair day to cut our own throats. Why is Barker etc. spared, etc? Is this the way to rule English people?....O Cruelty to spare the professed enemy and to drive to slaughter herself and her best friends!....Think you that men mark not your [weak] governance?'¹

The limit on Parker's erastianism² was much the same as that accepted by Sir Thomas More on the one hand and (though Parker did not accept the full implications of the way he used it)³ by Robert Crowley on the other: there was a point at which every Christian had to accept, with St. Peter, the need 'more to obey God than man.'⁴ If the will of the sovereign conflicted with what the subject considered in his conscience to be the will of God, then the subject should do the will of God and accept, in consequence, whatever punishment was, according to the laws of the land and the will of the sovereign, just. When, for example, the Queen wanted Parker to accept the archbishopric he protested and stated his fears that he might, by accepting the appointment, 'clog and cumber my conscience to God-ward'.⁵ 'I will not be abashed to say to my prince', he wrote in 1568,

'that I think in conscience in answer^{ing} to my charging, as this other day I was well chidden at my prince's hand.. But with one ear I heard her hard words, and with the other, and in my conscience and heart, I heard God.'⁶

1. Corresp., p. 391. Cf. Ibid., p. 410.

2. Ibid., p. 311.

3. A Briefe Examination, p. 215. Crowley wrote in A brief Discourse against the Outward Apparel and Ministring Garments of the Popish Church: 'Our goods, our bodies, our lives we do with humble submission yield to God's officers upon earth; but our conscience we keep unspotted in the sight of him that shall judge all men.' Quoted in Brook, Parker, p. 197.

4. A Briefe Examination, p. 215.

5. Corresp., p. 50.

6. Ibid., p. 311.

Parker complained when Elizabeth did not support his attempts to enforce uniformity, he did not hesitate to define what he considered to be the limits (which he thought Elizabeth was exceeding) of the royal prerogative in granting marriage dispensations, he discussed the general nature of the royal prerogative in letters to Burghley, and he criticized government policies.¹

The distinction which Parker made between matters 'indifferent' and matters of conscience, the importance of the Coxian exiles, and the notion of the 'gospel' party are also important in understanding how Parker was able to absorb into his diocese people like Thomas Becon.

Parker, at the beginning of his archiepiscopate, still tended to think of Europe as Erasmus² had: divided between the evangelical party, the 'ministers of the gospel', and the scholastics, i.e., those who adhered to the theological and philosophical bases of fifteenth century sacramental-sacerdotalism. He was still speaking the language of Erasmus when he wrote to Walter Haddon in 1566 that he rejoiced to see in Haddon 'so much grave Christian philosophy.'³ Parker wrote of the cause of 'the gospel'⁴ and of the way in which the 'liberty of the gospel' was being jeopardized by the dissension among the English protestants. 'God's word' was the touchstone of his thought as, for example,

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 351-2, 479, *passim*.

2. E.g., Erasmus to Pirckheimer (1525); to Luther (1526); to Bucer (1527); translated in J. Huizinga, *Erasmus and the Age of the Reformation*, Harper Torchbook edition (New York, 1957), pp. 240, 241, 244; cf. my 'Erasmus and the Tudor Anglican Church: Christian Humanism and the *Via Media*' (University of Western Ontario M.A. thesis, 1960), and references given there.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 284.

4. *Corresp.*, p. 244; cf. P. Hughes, '*...True Religion Now Established*' (London, 1954), pp. 48-95.

when he wrote to Cecil in April, 1564, saying that he trusted the Queen's laws did 'not much differ from God's word well understood.'¹

Parker thought of himself as part of the 'godly party', the 'professors of the gospel', ² against whom were aligned the forces of Roman Catholicism, atheism and such heresies as anti-trinitarianism. He thought in terms of 'papist' vs. 'protestant'.³ He declared that the papists were the 'Queen's mortal enemies, pretend what men will,'⁴ and wrote with approval of 'godly ministers'⁵, of Elizabeth's 'godly enterprise'⁶, of 'such due form as...is godly prescribed',⁷ of 'godly and wholesome religion agreeable to the word of God' (1571)⁸ and received from Elizabeth letters containing such phrases of approbation as 'godly wise and obedient persons.'⁹

Parker's identification of himself with those whose most fervent interest was in the promotion of the gospel and godliness is another of the factors to be taken into account in trying to understand his attitude towards the returned Marian exiles in his diocese. A sense of urgency and great opportunity pervades the writings of Parker¹⁰ and of such 'puritan'¹¹ diocesan figures as Alexander Nowell, John Bale and Thomas Becon. Neither Parker nor the returning exiles

1. Ibid., p. 209.

2. Ibid., p. 251.

3. Ibid., p. 254.

4. Ibid., p. 350.

5. Ibid., p. 352.

6. Ibid., p. 130.

7. Ibid., p. 352.

8. Ibid., p. 382.

9. Ibid., p. 244.

10. Corresp., p. 130.

11. Knappen, pp. 191-192 (Nowell); 60-71, 73, 81, 111, 113, 122, 129, 134, 136, 200, 376, 806 (Bale); 56, 434 (Becon).

knew how much time they were going to have to spread the ideas of the gospel as far and as wide as they could and they were willing to bury many differences on detail in order to carry out the main purpose of evangelization. It was for this reason, so he said, that Thomas Becon (and the last person one could accuse of being a time-server was Becon) was willing to conform in things indifferent. This was one of Parker's chief complaints about Robert Crowley's tracts: they caused division among the reformers, they thus comforted the 'adversary', and they took people's attention away from the main task of preaching and teaching the gospel.

This willingness to ignore minor considerations in order to work together to fulfill the major task helps to account for Parker's reasonably amicable relations with such men as Becon. Thus, in 1565, Becon, in phrases which would have been entirely acceptable to Parker, wrote to Parker and the bishops of himself:

'To teach the people to know themselves and their salvation in the blood of Christ through faith, and to walk worth the kindness of God, leeding a life agreeable to the same, hath only been the stop and mark whereunto I have directed all my studies and travails both in preaching and in writing. I have sought in all my doings to offend none, but to please the godly.'¹

His wish, he said, had been to 'win some and lose as few as I might.'²

Parker did not accept the idea that only those things for which there was positive warrant in scripture ought to be used in the Church. For Parker there were, on the one hand, matters of conscience upon which the Christian could not compromise and, on the other hand, matters 'indifferent' which varied from country to country and upon which the godly magistrate and local church ought

1. T. Becon, Works, II, PPS, 27-28.

2. Ibid., II, 28.

to decide. Garments were not to Parker a matter of conscience. Thus, of the proposition of Robert Crowley that 'all those thynges as haue ben brought into the church besides or contrary to the scriptures' must be 'cast away', Parker wrote in 1566:

'This trueth all faythful Christians confirme with you, that concernyng fayth and doctrine, conernyng remission of sinnes, and eternal saluation, nothing ought to be taught or receyued which is contrary or not grounded in the canonicall scriptures. For holy writ geuen by the inspiration of God is not only a lyght to our feete, as Dauid sayth (Psalm cxix), but also so profitable that thereby the man of God may be absolute, being made perfecte unto all good workes, as Saint Paule testifieth (II Timothy: iii).

'And though this be most true, touchyng the substaunce of Christian religion; yet the maner and order of setting of it forth is not particularly expressed, but generally left to the disposition of Christe's church from tyme to tyme accordyng to those wordes of Saint Paule: "Let all thynges be done comely and orderly." (I Cor. xiiii). Wherein Whatsoever shalbe lawfully done to those purposes, is not to be iudged besydes the scriptures.'¹

Parker maintained that, though 'custom and usage', and royal order, were reasons enough to continue to wear clerical garb, the essential mark of a true Christian, especially a clergyman, were not clothing but the purity of his doctrine and of his heart.² It was these inner qualities, rather than anything external, which set the true Christian apart from the false. Parker quoted Augustine to the effect that a change of apparel was nothing---what was really significant was a change of opinion.³ It was the duty of the minister to build up the church, not tear it apart by focusing attention upon non-essentials such as clerical garb. Crowley and his cohorts ought to co-operate with

1. Parker, A Briefe Examination, p. 210.
2. Parker, A Briefe Examination, p. 221, 225, and passim.
3. Ibid., pp. 226-7.

the bishops in the 'worke of God's buyldyng' and in the spreading abroad of 'the sweete smellyng savour of the Gospell of Christ.'¹

Parker translated and appended to A Briefe Examination the letters written by Bucer and Martyr in 1550 when Hooper had first raised the issue of whether or not clergymen ought to conform in matters of dress.² Parker's translation reveals Bucer's support for the use of such vestments as were required by law. To both Bucer and Martyr, though they would have preferred not to use the vestments, vestments were 'indifferent': what was really significant was the use to which the vestments were put, the significance attached to them by clergy and people, and the character of the person wearing them. Neither Bucer, Martyr, nor Parker, so they said, thought that the use of the vestments implied that they were necessary for salvation, but they were to be worn because they had been required by the magistrate and in order to maintain quietness, decency, and public order. What a man wore was not, in itself, corrupting; as Bucer wrote 'all thynges to holy and good men are holy and pure', and, as far as the vestments were concerned, 'godly men may use them godly'.³ Martyr, in the same instance, had written, as Parker translated his letter, that 'all thynges are cleane to the cleane',⁴ all things are 'pure to the pure',⁵ and 'signes indeed are signes and not the thynges'.⁶

Wearing of the prescribed apparel did not, Parker maintained, take away

1. Ibid., p. 230.

2. C. Hopf, Martin Bucer (Oxford, 1956), pp. 131-170.

3. Bucer to Cranmer appended to A Briefe Examination, p. 244.

4. Martyr to Hooper, ibid., p. 257; note that most of these statements are paraphrases of scriptural dicta. Cf. ibid., pp. 200, 203, 206.

5. Ibid., p. 262.

6. Ibid., p. 261.

the liberty of a Christian. 'The bondage of Egypt' did not comprise the wearing of apparel which had once been used for unholy and superstitious purposes, Parker wrote, but in 'slauerie to sinne, error and superstition', the latter two of which Parker equated with the teachings of 'popishe religion'. To give the summary statement of this matter:

'The wearyng of this apparell, which ...is in his owne nature indifferent, cannot be lykened to the bondage of Egypt, which is slauerie to sinne, error and superstition. The substance of popishe religion may well be compared to those cheynes, for that many are sure tyed there with ignoraunce and blyndnes....'¹

In the course of the vestiarian dispute Parker wrote that the marks of the true Christian Church were not what the clergy wore but that 'Christe's gospell is purely preached and his sacraments rightly ministered.'² Parker maintained, against Robert Crowley's charges to the contrary, that the Church in England did

'holde fast puritatem rituum et doctrine, the puritie of rites and doctrine, and also flee and detest the leuen of Antichrist with all erroures and superstition, though be kepe [sic] these few ordinaunces, accordyng to the rules of God's booke, wherein men had superstition before us. There is a difference...betwixt the puritie of rites and the cleane takyng away of all.'³

More particularly, Parker stated that in the true church baptism and the 'Lorde's Supper' would be properly administered, 'Godde's Worde' would be taught and heard, and teachings of the scriptures would have replaced 'false doctrine, superstition and error',⁴ and ecclesiastical discipline would be maintained.⁵ This definition of the true church was much the same as that of the thirty-nine articles of 1563 which said that 'the visible church of Christ is a congregation

1. Parker, A Briefe Examination, p. 231.
2. Ibid., p. 209.
3. Ibid., p. 229.
4. Ibid., p. 208.
5. Ibid., pp. 218, 235.

of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered according to Christ's ordinance';¹ One of the homilies written during the time of Parker's administration gave an almost identical description,² and an unpublished tract of puritan Edward Dering is somewhat the same.³ Finally, Parker denied the need for a separated church:

'Yf there be in a church where Christe's gospell is purely preached and his sacraments rightly ministered, some euyl among the good, as in one net diuers sortes of fishes, in one field wheat and tares, in one barne corne and chaffe: yet the good are not sayde to communicate or be defyled of the badde as long as they consent not to theyr wickednes, but depart from among them, not by corporall seperation, but by dissimilitude of life and diuersitie of maners, though they both use the same temple, the same table, the same sacramentes, as Saint Augustine setteth out at large.'⁴

Parker, himself a first generation reformer and, in the matter of clerical marriage, a revolutionary, had a large measure of sympathy for the continental reformers. Though he was unhappy about some of the 'Germanic spirits' that were returning from the continent in 1559, yet he wrote in 1561 of Calvin and Peter Martyr that they were 'as able to stand in defence of a truth, assisted by Him whose cause it is, as the adversaries striving against God'⁵ and hoped that they would be able to attend a conference at Poissy between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Upon one occasion at least Parker's commissary general ordered a new Canterbury incumbent, Nicholas Younge, to furnish himself for his own instruction with an English translation of Calvin's Institutes.⁶

1. Sykes, p. 8.

2. Homilies and Canons (London, 1914), p. 494.

3. Edward Dering, 'De Ecclesia'.

4. A Briefe Examination, p. 209.

5. Ibid., p. 147.

6. Cant. MS./Z/4/12, fo. 5. Cf. ibid., fos. 36v, 46v, 111v; /X/8/9c, fo. 31v; /X/10/17, fos. 160v-161v; /X/8/6, fo. 9; Reg., pp. 449, 807.

But it was with the ideas of Bucer and Martyr that Parker was in most sympathy. Both Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer (whose funeral sermon Parker had preached in 1550¹), advocated conformity to the magistrate in things indifferent² and Bucer especially had concerned himself with conveying as quickly and widely as possible through preaching, teaching, propaganda tracts and personal demonstration the ideas of 'the gospel' and he was not particularly concerned about clerical dress etc. Neither of the two men can accurately be classified as Calvinists or Zwinglians.

Bucer had initiated and set the tone of the Reformation at Strasbourg,³ and several of the Canterbury travellers or exiles on the continent came under the influence of Strasbourg or else lived there. Christopher Hales had visited Strasbourg in 1548,⁴ at which time Bucer was still there,⁵ and in 1549 it was John Hales who informed Cranmer of the danger Bucer faced in Strasbourg.⁶ Others who had at least some connection with Strasbourg and who later had some part in Parker's diocese were John Turner, B.D., Alexander Nowell, Thomas Becon, Rudolph Chevalier and Edward Isaac who, though he lived at Frankfort, supported Sandys at Strasbourg.⁷

So strong is the idea that the Marian exiles were Calvinistic in outlook that neither Miss Garrett nor Professor Neale, the latter of whom pointed out that about one-quarter of the Marian exiles 'came under Genevan influence',⁸ discussed the

1. M. Parker, How we ought to take the death of the godly: A sermon made in Cambridge at the buriall of the noble clerk D.M. Bucer [1550] (London, 1571 (?)); C. Hopf, Bucer, *passim*; Corresp., pp. 41-47.

2. Parker, A Briefe Examination.

3. H. Eells, Martin Bucer (New Haven, 1931), pp. 25-69.

4. Garrett, p. 171.

5. Eells, p. 400.

6. Ibid., pp. 401-2.

7. Garrett, pp. 312, 237-8, 84-5, 195-96, etc.

8. Neale, Parliaments, I, 56.

logical next question: what about the religious outlook of the other three-quarters? Miss Garrett points out that 361 of the 800 refugees of whom she has written went to Germany and she pointed out the strong attraction for them of Strasbourg.¹ Such non-Calvinist centers as Strasbourg, Frankfort, and Aarau ('a colony...largely recruited from the refugees from Calais'²) attracted most of the exiles who later played some part in the affairs of Canterbury diocese. Among the laymen Edward Isaac lived at Frankfort. A Coxian, he was 'from the first one of the leaders of the Prayer Book party'. He refused to sign the 'new discipline' and refused to 'join Geneva in her proposed crusade against ceremonies'.³ John and Christopher Hales lived out their exile at Frankfort and, apparently, had nothing to do with Geneva.⁴ Edward Boyes, gent., spent most of his exile at Frankfort although he did go to Geneva in connection with the establishment of a new congregation there.⁵ Richard Crispe, gent., did spend his exile at Geneva.⁶

The picture among the clergymen was much the same. Alexander Nowell made Frankfort his headquarters, though he also visited Strasbourg, Geneva and Basle. He refused, in 1559, to 'join Geneva in her anti-ceremonial crusade.' He was also a friend of William Wattes,⁷ but this is a case in which our theory breaks down completely because Wattes, as curate of St. Margaret's Cliffe in the late 1560's turned out to be a determined non-conformist and the cause of considerable dissension in his parish.⁸ Thomas Becon lived at Strasbourg, Frankfort and

1. Garrett, pp. 27, 32.

2. Ibid., p. 177.

3. Ibid., pp. 195-196.

4. Ibid., pp. 171-174.

5. Ibid., pp. 95-96; cf. Visitations of Kent, 1574 and 1592, pp. 123-4.

6. Garrett, p. 120.

7. Ibid., pp. 237-8.

8. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/5, fo. 172.

Marburg.¹ John Bale spent most of his Marian exile at Frankfort where, in the end, he sided with the Coxians.² John Bendall, whom Parker patronized,³ was for a time at Emden and subscribed to the liturgy of the French church at Frankfort.⁴ Thomas Bickley, also a six preacher and a chaplain to Parker, spent his exile at Paris and Orleans.⁵ Richard Rogers who later became bishop suffragan of Dover, spent his exile at Frankfort and did not sign the 'new discipline'.⁶ Richard Turner, another of the preachers, spent his exile at Basle and Frankfort where he sided with the Coxians.⁷ Then there were the others, like Beseley, Pownall, Carriar, William Maister, and James Peers who were of the Knoxian part though they later worked for Parker.⁸

Professor Dugmore has recently pointed out that the religious radicals of the first few years of Elizabeth's reign were probably of the Coxian, rather than Knoxian, party.⁹ It is certainly true that the Coxians were the dominant party among the English reformers of the first six or seven years of Elizabeth's reign. Perhaps this is in part explained, as the classic case of Frankfort revealed, by the fact that what happened within the refugee colonies was sometimes of more significance than the religious opinions of those in the district in which they happened to have settled. There was something of the ghetto about some of the refugee colonies. On the other hand, as I have tried to illustrate, it is significant that so many of the refugees who were later important within

1. Garrett, pp. 84-5.

2. Ibid., p. 78.

3. Reg., p. 830-31. See also ibid., pp. 387, 482, 529, 777.

4. Garrett, p. 86.

5. Ibid., p. 90; Foster, AO., I, i, 121.

6. Garrett, op. cit.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. C.W. Dugmore, The Mass and the English Reformers (London, 1958), pp. 202-47.

Canterbury diocese were more influenced by Bucer and Martyr and religious ideas of the kind they held than they were by Calvin's ideas. Richard Cox was a friend and, after he returned to England, a correspondent of Peter Martyr (by then a resident of Zwinglian Zurich)¹, and Parker's own religious position, especially on the matter of obedience to the godly magistrate and on the distinction between matters of conscience and matters indifferent, was close enough to that of Richard Cox to make him a Coxian without ever having left the country. The ideas of the Coxians on matters like vestments and episcopacy were much closer to those of Bucer and Martyr than they were to those of Calvin. This, it seems, was the importance of the influence of Strasbourg and Frankfort, rather than Geneva, at least as far as the diocese of Canterbury was concerned. When we discover that Thomas Becon, a Coxian, and others of a similar persuasion, were an important, perhaps the dominant, group among those who returned from the continent to the diocese of Canterbury, the bases of co-operation between them and Parker become more apparent.

1. The Zurich Letters, 1558-1579, ed. H. Robinson, PPS (Cambridge, 1842), pp. 65 and 112.

CHAPTER VII.

PARKER AND DIOCESAN NON-CONFORMITY, PART II.

From 1569 onwards radical non-conformity was sufficiently wide-spread in Canterbury diocese to be of administrative significance. Earlier, manifestations of non-conformity had been few; between 1569 and 1573 they were especially frequent. The earlier infrequency of instances of clerical non-conformity was not simply the product of administrative dis-interest (although that was part of the explanation). In 1560 Parker's visitors inquired about what apparel the prebendaries wore¹ and the visitors were given an answer, under oath, which, as far as the phraseology reveals, meant that all was well: 'they commonlie goe in suche comelie apparaile as you se and as appertayneth'.² Parker's 1560 articles for inquiry in parish churches had asked whether the clergy used 'unwont and unseemly apparel'.³

In the first part of this chapter the nature of Canterbury (radical) non-conformity will be analysed. The analysis will include an extended discussion of the situation in two sample deaneries. It will also attempt to evaluate the extent to which manifestations of non-conformity represented lasting puritan

1. Reg., p. 621.

2. Ibid., p. 638.

3. Visitation Articles and Injunctions, III ed. W.H. Frere (1559-1575), Alcuin Club Collections (1910), 83. Cf. Ibid., III, 20.

conviction. The third part will be a discussion of returned exiles, the fourth of university graduates, among those sharing non-conformist tendencies. The fifth part will give an account of Edward Dering, and the sixth part will be a discussion of the significance of the refugee churches as far as diocesan non-conformity was concerned.

(i) CLERICAL VESTMENTS AND COMMUNION BREAD.

The vestiarian controversy of 1565-66, in so many ways a turning point in Elizabethan church history and in the lives of people like John Whitgift,¹ seems to have had little immediate impact upon Canterbury diocese. Parker's tract, A Briefe Examination for the time of a certain Declaration (written in answer to Robert Crowley's attack upon the required apparel), several times referred to the vestiarian controversy as a London affair,² and, indeed, it took a little time for the controversy, originating in those centers of intellectual and religious life, London and the universities,³ to permeate the countryside. Apparel became an issue in Canterbury diocese after the main battle had been fought and, by the puritans, lost.

The royal injunctions of 1559 had specified the use of the 'square cap' and 'such seemly habits...as were most commonly and orderly received' in the last year of the reign of Edward VI.⁴ Parker and the bishops at first interpreted this to mean the use of the cope at communion and of the surplice for all other

1. P. Collinson, 'The "Nott Conformyte" of the Young John Whitgift', JEH., XV (1964), 192-200.

2. See Corresp., p. 270.

3. M.H. Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition: 1558-1642 (Oxford, 1959), pp. 170-171; H.C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (Cambridge, 1958), passim.

4. Frere, op.cit., III, 20.

ceremonies,¹ but in his Advertisements, written in 1564 and published in 1566, Parker altered his earlier position and required, among other things, the use of the cope in communion at cathedral and collegiate churches, and of the surplice at all formal services, including communion, in parish churches. He also specified what clothing the clergy were to wear outside of church.² After frustrating attempts to obtain adequate support from Elizabeth for the policy she demanded, and facing the opposition of at least a faction of the council who wanted the Queen to tell Parker to 'use a moderation therein',³ in 1566 Parker was finally in a strong enough position to get a measure of conformity in London.⁴ He suspended thirty-seven non-conforming ministers.⁵ The ministers had not thought that Parker, considering the shortage of clergy, would suspend them or would be so completely uncompromising in the matter.⁶ He also undertook to obtain uniformity at the universities⁷ and in such^a diocese as Norwich,⁸ but to obtain

1. W.M. Kennedy, The "Interpretations" of the Bishops, Alcuin Club Tracts, VIII (1908), pp. 30-31.
2. The Advertisements, Documents Illustrative of English Church History, ed. H. Gee and W.J. Hardy (London, 1910), pp. 470-71, 475.
3. P.R.O./S.P./12/36, fo. 150.
4. Corresp., esp. pp. 262-264; cf. ibid., pp. 223, 227-30, 233-38, 241, 244-46, 271-74, 277-79, 280-83.
5. H.G. Owen, 'The London Parish Clergy in the Reign of Elizabeth I', (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1957), pp. 468-514; M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism (Chicago, 1939 (reprint 1963)), pp. 196-7.
6. Corresp., p. 272; Cal. S.P. Dom., Addenda 1566-1579, XIII, number 40. P.R.O./S.P./12/40, fos. 1-1v; S.P./12/41, fos. 165v-168v.
7. Porter, passim; Curtis, pp. 170-171; cf. J. Strype, Parker, I (Oxford, 1821) 313, 351; V.J.K. Brook, Parker (Oxford, 1962), pp. 177, 183-205, etc.; E.W. Perry Under Four Tudors (London, 1940), p. 214; W.H. Frere, The English Church in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I (1558-1625) (London, 1904), pp. 110-128; The Seconde Parte of a Register, ed. A. Peel (Cambridge, 1915), I, 52; P.R.O./S.P./12/38, fos. 11-12v, 37, 59, 60, 110.
8. Reg., pp. 720-722.

uniformity in those places took a little longer.

In Canterbury diocese the liturgical issue which caused Parker and his officers the most trouble was not the question of the use of the surplice (though that too was a significant issue), but the question of whether the bread used in communion was to be leavened or unleavened.

The general attitude towards this question had been that it was indeed a matter 'indifferent'. The Council of Florence of 1439 had decreed that "'the body of Jesus Christ is truly consecrated in wheaten bread, whether unleavened or leavened'",¹ and the Council of Trent ruled that either leavened or unleavened bread could be used depending on local custom.² But, though the pre-Reformation custom in England seems to have been to use wafer (unleavened) bread, by Elizabeth's time there was no option: except in unusual cases unleavened bread was required rather than preferred. The Prayer Book of 1549 had required that the communion bread be the same for all England,

'that is to say, vnleauened and rounde, as it was afore, but without all maner of printe, and something more larger and thicker than it was'.³

In keeping with the more radical tone of its contents, the Second Edwardian Prayer Book reversed the earlier decision to use wafer (unleavened) bread. 'To take away superstition', it read,

'whiche any person hathe, or myghte haue in the bread and wyne, it shall suffyse that the bread bee such as is usuall to be eaten at the table with other meates, but the best and purest wheate bread that conueniently maye be gotten.'⁴

1. Quoted in C.W. Dugmore, The Mass and the English Reformers (London, 1958), p. 56.

2. J. Jewel, Works, I, PPS., (Cambridge, 1845), 534n.

3. The First and Second Prayer Books of King Edward VI, ed. E.C.S. Gibson (London, 1910, 1960), p. 230; Dugmore, p. 132.

4. Gibson, op.cit., p. 392.

This statement was retained in the Elizabethan Prayer Book of 1559¹ in spite of the royal injunctions of the same year which specifically refuted this position of the Second Edwardian Prayer Book in the matter of the communion bread and adopted the position of the First:

'Item: where also it was in the time of King Edward VI used to have the sacramental bread of common fine bread,² it is ordered for the more reverence to be given to these holy mysteries, being the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that the sacramental bread be made and formed plain, without any figure thereupon, of the same fineness and fashion round, though somewhat bigger in compass and thicknes, as the usual bread and wafer, heretofore named singing cakes, which served for the use of the private Mass.'³

The difference between the act of uniformity which provided, as Parker understood it, for the use of the Second Edwardian Prayer Book, and this injunction which clearly contradicted the Second Edwardian Prayer Book's usage in the matter of communion bread, caused those who did not 'like...the injunctions' to 'force much the statute',⁴ i.e., to decide that leavened bread could be used. But Parker held that the royal injunctions (a product of the royal prerogative) were every bit as binding as statutes and maintained that, moreover, the injunctions were themselves provided for by the statute.⁵ He undertook to interpret the 'it shall suffice' clause of the Prayer Book as much in sympathy with the injunction as he

1. B.M. c. 25 1 9.

2. The phrases 'common fine bread', 'the best and purest wheate bread' and 'manchet bread' seem to have been used interchangeably. All were leavened and therefore not acceptable, except in unusual cases, in the Elizabethan communion service. Harrison wrote in 1577: 'Of breade made of wheate we haue sundry sortes.. wherof the finest and most excellent is manchet, whiche we commonlye call white bread, in latin primarius panis.' One writer said that in manchet bread 'barme' was used in place of leaven, but for the church's purpose it was still leavened bread. OED., sub 'manchet'.

3. Frere, II, 28.

4. Corresp., p. 376.

5. Ibid., p. 376.

could: that is, if there were no unleavened bread available, or if the use of wafer (unleavened) bread seemed to encourage 'superstition', or, by 1574, if the use of leavened bread by a few would keep the peace,¹ ordinary bread could be used.² But otherwise, as Parker wrote to Cecil in 1565, he required the dissidents as well as the others 'to communicate kneeling in wafer-bread,'³ and saw to it that his own chaplains, by way of example, would not serve communion if wafer-bread were not provided.⁴

Parker's visitation articles of 1563 specifically asked 'whether they do use to administer the communion in wafer bread according unto the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions, or in common bread',⁵ his commissary general used similar articles of inquiry in his annual visitations and Parker again inquired about the communion bread during his 1569 and 1573 visitations. One of Parker's strongest supporters in this policy was his own archdeacon Guest, something of an expert in eucharistic matters,⁶ who, qua bishop, made similar inquiries in his own diocese of Rochester.⁷ Presumably Guest's official in Canterbury diocese was furnished with a set of diocesan articles of inquiry which contained a similar question.

Parker also met opposition. On the national level he had to convince such people as Sampson and Humphrey⁸ and to contend with the anonymous individuals who whisked away the wafer bread in the midst of the services.⁹ On the diocesan level

1. Ibid., p. 460. But cf. Interpretations, pp. 31, 41.

2. Corresp., pp. 375-76.

3. Ibid., p. 240.

4. Ibid., p. 277.

5. Frere, III, 140; cf. ibid., III, 189.

6. Dugmore, pp. 213-14, 221-26.

7. Frere, III, 151, 154, 158.

8. Corresp., p. 240. Cf. S.P./12/36, fos. 146-146v.

9. Corresp., p. 277-78. Cf. Zurich Letters, I, 164, II, 40, 121, 161, 361.

perhaps Thomas Becon was the most influential person who cast doubts upon the propriety of the use of wafer bread, although it is true that significant opposition to the use of the unleavened bread did not arise in the diocese until after Becon's death. Whatever his influence may have been, his opinion in the matter, published in 1565, was that

The bread appointed for the communion were indifferent whether it were leavened or unleavened, till Pope Alexander came, which, as they write, in the year of our Lord an hundred and eleven commanded that only unleavened bread should be used at the Lord's Supper. Notwithstanding, the Greeks, from the apostles' time unto this day, have ever used leavened bread in the ministration of the holy communion, as they use also wine only in their cup; whereas the Latin Church customably mingle water with the wine, which was also Pope Alexander's device.¹

Becon, in other words, presented as a 'popish invention' the requirement that communion bread be unleavened. His understanding of apostolic practice was that bread of either kind had been used: it was, indeed, a matter indifferent.

A total of sixty-five Canterbury diocesan^e clergymen who did not conform in apparel or in the use of unleavened bread during the time of Parker's administration have been identified. Twenty-nine of these clergymen were reported at the time of Parker's visitation of 1569.² In 1573 there were forty-two of whom eight had been among the non-conformists of 1569. The latter eight, that is, those who were reported as non-conformists both in 1569 and in 1573, were Robert Alexander (Elizander), B.A., curate of Chartham, Nicholas Champion, vicar of Little Chart, John Cadman, serving at Folkestone, Alkeham and Capel-le-Fern, Kenelm Dygbye,

1. T. Becon, The Displaying of the Popish Mass, Works, PPS, (Cambridge, 1844), IV, 262.

2. H.C. Mag., V and VI; Cant. MSS./X/1/9; /Z/3/9; /Z/3/10; /1569 Clerical Survey; Reg., passim.

rector of Old Romney, William Evans, curate of Bilsington and vicar of Nonnington,¹ Thomas Pawson, rector of Ham, William Wattes, curate of Westcliffe, etc., and William Watson, curate of Oare. Apparently the other twenty-one non-conformists of 1569 had, by 1573, conformed.² In addition there were three clergymen whose non-conformity appeared at other times during Parker's administration. They were William Haywarde, vicar of Eastchurch,³ William Hunte, 'minister' of Kingston,⁴ and John Pemble, vicar of Godmersham.⁵

Though the situation varied from deanery to deanery, the churches which reported a non-conformist clergyman were sprinkled all over the diocese. Bridge and Dover deaneries, each with eleven churches reporting non-conformity, had the most. Sutton deanery, with two, had the least. Because of the sixty-five men, a total of seventy-four churches, or about one-quarter of the churches in the diocese, reported clerical non-conformity (of a radical kind) at least once

1. H.C. Mag. V, 115; Cant. MS./Z/3/9, fo. 187; A.C., XXIX, 317; Cant. MSS/Z/3/11, fo. 42; /X/1/11, fos. 114v, 136; /X/1/10, fo. 89v. Cf. Reg., pp. 509, 835 and R.T. Petersson, Sir Kenelm Digby, Ornament of England, 1603-1665 (Harvard, 1965).

2. The twenty-one who were non-conformists in 1569 but not in 1573 were William (Robert) Barlow, B.A., curate of Iwade, Thomas Cockes, curate of Tenterden, William Christmas (ob. 1572), vicar of St. Peter's Thanet, Richard Fletcher, M.A., vicar of Cranbrook, Thomas Gardiner, curate of Graveney, etc., John Hastingly, curate of Bishopsbourne, Robert Hoode, curate of Barham, Thomas Hudson, curate of Frittenden, Laurence Hollenden, curate of Davington, John Ingram, curate of Charlton and rector of St. James, Dover, Thomas Knell, B.A., curate of Selling, William Mercer, rector of Hawking, John Pyckard, B.A., curate of Pluckley, Robert Pownall, D.D. (ob. 1571), vicar of St. Clement's, Sandwich, Thomas Pett, 'incumbent' of St. Peter's, Sandwich, Thomas Price, curate of Monckton, Hamlet Taylor, curate of Ash, Philip Simpson, curate of Biddenden, John Thyrcyll, curate of Appledore, Thomas Turpyn, curate of Buckland and of St. Mary, Dover, and William Wood, vicar of Waltham. A.C., XXIX (1911), passim; references given in note 2 page 276, above; Cant. MSS./X/1/10; /X/1/11.

3. Cant. MS./X/1/9, fo. 48 (1567). Cf. Reg., pp. 594, 863, 1093, 1126, and JEH., XV, no. 2 (1964), 199 and note.

4. Cant. MS./X/1/10, fo. 25 (1570). Cf. ibid., fos. 25v, 96; /Z/3/7, fos. 67, 109, 140v.

5. Cant. MS./Y/3/17, fo. 56 (1575). Cf. ibid., fos. 45, 55, 55v; /X/8/6, fo. 9v; Reg., pp. 884, 1116.

during the time of Parker's administration. The sixty-nine of these churches for which we have population statistics served 3,695 households and 12,308 communicants.¹

(ii) DOVER AND CANTERBURY DEANERIES.

An analysis of the situation in Dover deanery serves as a sample of the relative influence of clerical non-conformity. In Dover deanery there were twenty-four churches and chapels including some such as Polton² which were without parishioners and virtually abandoned. The nineteen of these twenty-four churches for which we have population statistics served 545 households in which dwelt 1,429 communicants. Of the twenty-four places of worship eleven reported, during the years 1569-1573, either that communion was served in common bread, or that the man who served their cure did not wear a surplice, or both. Ten of these eleven churches (we do not have the population statistics for Westcliffe) served among them 231 households and 843 communicants. In other words, almost half of the churches in Dover deanery came into direct contact with non-conformist practices during the years 1569 to 1573, and thirty to fifty per cent of the people were reached by clergymen who might have become doctrinaire puritans.³

1. The five churches for which we do not have any population statistics were Ash, Nonnington, Westbere, Graveney and Monckton. For Smeeth and Loose we have the statistics for the number of household only. For those three churches an estimate of three communicants per household had been made and included in the figure of 12,308. Cant. MSS./1569 Clerical Survey; /Z/3/8, fo. 141; B.M. MS./Harl./594, fos. 69v, 91, etc.

2. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 24; R.F. Jessup and J.C. Cox, Kent, seventh edition (London, 1950), p. 232.

3. Cant. MSS./1569 Clerical Survey, fos. 28-29v; /Z/3/8, fos. 140, 140v; B.M. MS./Harl./594, and /1759.

The influence of the six non-conformists, that is, William Wattes,¹ William Evans, Thomas Turpyn, John Ingram, John Cadman and William Mercer, can further be estimated when we realize that as of 1569 there were only twelve clergymen in the deanery. Of the twelve William Allen resided permanently outside of the deanery and 'curate' Richard Spencer was, in truth, merely a layman serving as reader at Guston. Thus, there were only ten men who we can actually classify as Dover deanery clergy and over half of them showed some puritan tendencies. Moreover, the only university men among the twelve were two of these who had non-conformist tendencies: Evans was sometimes described 'Ll.B.' and Turpyn attended Oxford. Finally, since there was not a single licensed preacher in the whole group of twelve, those clergy with non-conformist inclinations, though not permitted to expound their ideas from the pulpit, would have been in as good a position as any to propagate, through individual consultation and conversation, their ideas.²

Thomas Turpyn, curate of St. Mary, Dover (where there was no incumbent) and curate from 1569 for vicar Thomas Colson³ at St. Nicholas Buckland,⁴ was another of the Dover non-conformists.⁵ Thomas Turpyn, as well as his brother

1. This was not, apparently, the William Wattes of London diocese whom Parker collated to Bocking (Essex). The London clergyman was a graduate; the Dover clergyman was not. Reg., pp. 404, 788, 1046, et passim; Cant. MSS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 28v; B.M. MS./Stowe, fos. 4-11v and Owen, 'London Parish Clergy...'. For Wattes see: Cant. MSS./Z/3/8, fos. 4, 16, 16v, 17v, 80v, 117v-118, 140, 152v; /X/8/2, fos. 36, 60v1 /Z/4/12, fos. 8, 50; /Z/3/11, fo. 22; /Z/3/17, fo. 62; Harpes., p. 342; H.C. Mag., VI, 112-113; A.C., XXIX (1911), 262 sub 'Beasfylde', 290; Lambeth MS./S.R./78/5, fo. 154v; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./43/2, fos. 1v, 39v; Reg., pp. 817, 1138.

2. Cant. MS./Z/3/10, fos. 13-14v, 17v-18v; /1569 Clerical Survey, fos. 4, 5, 28-29v.

3. Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fo. 17v; Reg., pp. 482, 828.

4. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./43/2, fos. 1v, 39v.

5. H.C. Mag., VI, 112; Lambeth MS./S.R./78.5, fo. 137; A.C., XXIX (1911), 290; Cant. MS./Z/3/11, fo. 21.

John, had spent his early years in Calais. Both left Calais for Wesel as exiles during Mary's reign and were associated with the duchess of Suffolk during their wanderings away from Calais.¹ With the accession of Elizabeth both Turpyns went from the continent to Dover (a natural place, for geographical rather than sociological reasons,² for men from Calais), and both served as clergymen in and around Dover. Thomas was temporarily a singer in Canterbury cathedral³ but by October 1562 he had become curate of St. Mary Dover succeeding his brother John who had acted temporarily as 'minister'.⁴ Such evidence as survives indicates that Thomas Turpyn continued to be curate of St. Mary's for the duration of Parker's administration. He was also briefly rector of Crundale in Bridge deanery, a rectory to which Parker had collated him in 1564, but he lost that benefice seemingly in a patronage quarrel over it.⁵

Thomas Turpyn, like William Wattes, was a genuine local clergyman. He resided at St. Mary's and, except for occasional illnesses, appeared regularly at ordinary visitations.⁶ He certainly did his best through the church courts to keep the church in repair, to obtain for the church Erasmus's Paraphrases,⁷ to collect what revenues were due the church, and to force those who were negligent to come to church.⁸ Self-declared 'papists' like Thomas Paynter, who

1. Garrett, p. 315.
2. Pace R.H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (London, 1922/1948), pp. 202-226.
3. Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fo. 26v.
4. Ibid., fo. 16.
5. Reg., p. 810.
6. Cant. MSS./Z/3/8, fos. 140v, 152v; /Z/4/12, fos. 8v, 50v, 117; /Z/3/10, fo.17v.
7. Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fos. 16, 37v-38, 60.
8. Cant. MS./X/8/2, fos. 61v-63 (1564).

said he had 'a book by the which he [would] approve that Saint James said mass at Rome', were diligently reported to the church courts by the churchwardens and sidesmen of Turpyn's church.¹ Turpyn was probably also the one who inspired the idea of trying to get scriptural passages on the walls of St. Mary's church by having the churchwardens report in 1572 to the archdiaconal visitors:

'Detectum est that they have no wryting of scriptures one [sic] the walls of the church now. And yn King Edward's dayes yt cost the parish fX, [that is for] the writing one [sic] the walls & in Queen Mari's dayes one Thomas Colly then being mayer of Dover caused yt to be wyped out.'²

The request for scriptural writings was quite in accordance with official Elizabethan policy,³ but it is, nonetheless, an item exactly of the kind that one might expect a particularly avid protestant to campaign for. It is also of interest that Thomas Colly (Cally) was reported in 1561 to be an infrequent attender at church and when he did come he 'troubled the reader', Thomas's brother John, 'with many words'. Colly denied the charges and succeeded in producing compurgators and the commissary general dismissed the case;⁴ nevertheless, there seems to have been a conflict of opinion between Colly and the brothers Turpyn.

William Evans's non-conformist tendencies did not mean that he lost his benefice during Parker's administration, but he refused in 1584 to subscribe to Whitgift's articles and was suspended as a puritan.⁵ John Ingram⁶, however, seems

1. H.C. Mag., VI, 111.

2. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./43/2, fos. 2, 40v, 41.

3. W.H. Frere, *Visitation Articles...*, II, 320, 354; III, 165, 192, 323.

4. Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fos. 16, 41v, 42, 59.

5. It seems unlikely that this William Evans was the ecclesiastical lawyer or the Hereford prebendary. Reg., pp. 119-121, 196, 226, 587, 861, 884, 1016; Le Neve, *Fasti*, I, 521; S.P./12/60, fo. 212; A.C., XXIX (1911), 293; Cant. MSS./X/1/11, fo. 120v; /Z/3/11, fo. 26v; P. Collinson, 'The Puritan Classical Movement in the Reign of Elizabeth I', (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1957), pp. 422, n.1, 1277.

6. Foster, AO., I, iii, 788; Cant. MSS./Z/4/12, fos. 50v, 117; /Z/3/10, fo. 18; /X/8/9c, fo. 33v; /Z/3/11, fos. 23v, 24, 25v; /1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 31 sub Bircholt; A.C., XXIX (1911), 292 sub St. James, 293 sub Charlton, 295; Reg., pp. 483, 835.

to have either been forced to give up his benefice during the time of Parker's administration or else he simply decided that the Elizabethan church was too restricted a sphere for him to work within: his rectory was declared 'legally vacant' in 1574 and in 1575 John Ingram became a student at the Middle Temple.¹

Some of the manifestations of non-conformity in Dover deanery were apparently ephemeral and not the product of conviction. Thus, in 1565 both Woodnesborough and River reported that they lacked a 'lawfull' or 'desent' surplice,² but this seems merely to have indicated negligence rather than resistance to authority. Similarly the practices of two of Dover's clergymen were probably the result of indifference rather than of a puritan outlook. John Cadman who, in 1569, served Folkestone, Alkham and Capel-le-Fern, had used common bread but, as the churchwardens said, he used it before the parish 'had the articles' forbidding the practice. After 1569 no more was said indicating that Cadman used common bread.³ The situation was similar with William Mercer who in 1573 ministered communion at Hawking in common bread. This was the only such complaint about Mercer of which we have evidence and it was unlikely, considering his apparently limitless adjustability, that Mercer was a man of doctrinaire views: he first served Hawking in 1541 and continued to do so until his death in 1591.⁴

Three clergymen of Canterbury deanery ministered communion in common bread or did not use the surplice properly. One of these men was William Sweting who, in 1573, ministered the communion in his benefice, St. George's rectory, in

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 1093, 1125; Foster, *AO.*, I, iii, 788.

2. *Maidstone MS./P.R.C./43/1*, fos. 16v-17, 33v.

3. *W.C. Mag.*, VI, 112, 113; *A.C.*, XXIX (1911), 293.

4. *Ibid.*, 290; *Harpes.*, pp. 56, 298, 341; *Cant. MS./Z/3/11*, fo. 21v.

common bread.¹ Another was William Wykes or Weekes, the vicar of St. Dunstan's, who was also reported in 1573 as ministering the communion in common bread.² The third such individual was John Rigate or Regate, rector of Little Hardres, of whom the churchwardens complained in 1573 that he did not wear the surplice except at weddings, churchings and burials.³

Of John Rigate we know little aside from the fact that he had been presented to his Canterbury benefice by the Queen in 1568,⁴ that there was this very minor complaint about him in 1573, and that Parker had been, in 1565, Rigate's patron for the London ^{diocese} benefice of Thurrocke Grays.⁵ Of the other two clergymen, however, we know a bit more and judging from such information as we have it is possible that William Weekes had some active sympathy for the puritan cause. At least, he was capable of expressing critical views: at the time of Parker's visitation in 1573 Weekes, who was a minor canon in the cathedral as well as incumbent of St. Dunstan's, confessed that three years previously he had made a rhyme against one 'Morris' which libel he had delivered to Morris with his own hand. Weekes denied, however, that he had ever 'made any infamous libell or ryme against any [of] the superiors or inferiors' of Canterbury cathedral, a statement which shows that the Morris he attacked was not Nicholas Morrice a chorister in the cathedral in 1573. The visitors, probably in order to force Weekes to exhibit his conformity and good behaviour in public, ordered him to read the articles of faith in the

1. A.C., XXIX (1911), 278; Cant. MS./Z/3/11, fo. 67.
2. Ibid., fo. 68; A.C., XXIX (1911), 278.
3. Ibid., 278; Cant. MS./Z/3/11, fo. 79v.
4. C.P.R. Eliz., IV, 217; Reg., pp. 509, 841.
5. Ibid., p. 811.

cathedral on a specified day in the future.¹

If we knew which 'Morris' it was that Weekes libelled it might tell us more about Weekes himself. It could have been the Vincent Morris who was one of the joint sequestrators of Mersham in 1564,² or the William Morrice who was curate of Wingham in 1561³ or some other member of the prolific Wingham family Morrice,⁴ or Maurice Pennyale the none-too-drab clergyman who was curate of Wingham from 1565 until at least 1569,⁵ or even Ralph Morice the able ex-secretary of archbishop Cranmer. (Morice had, with his pen, helped Cranmer in 'those great and weightie matrimonyal causes' of Henry VIII and also 'about the extirpation of the bishop of Rome his usurped power and authorities, the reformation of corrupt religion and ecclesiastical laws, the alteration of divine service and of divers and sundry conferences of lernid men for the establishment and advancement of sincere religion.')⁶ Morice was living in retirement at Bekesbourne, the site of Parker's principal diocesan manor, at the time of Parker's administration. He corresponded with Parker about Cranmer's manuscripts and with the Queen about his own need for money.⁷ During the Elizabethan period Morice also helped John Foxe compile materials for his martyrology and supplied in his 'Anecdotes' material for every subsequent biographer of Cranmer.⁸

Clergyman Weekes showed signs of rebelliousness other than his Morris libel.

1. Reg., pp. 908, 909, 918, 919, 925; Corresp., pp. 366-68.

2. Reg., p. 426.

3. Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fo. 19v.

4. Cant. MS./Parish Register Transcripts/Wingham/Box 416.

5. Cant. MSS./Z/3/8, fo. 139; /Z/4/12, fos. 58, 122v; /Z/3/10, fo. 33.

6. J. Strype, Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, II (London, 1853), 482.

7. DNB.; cf. Cant. MS./X/10/9, fos. 51, 52 for 'old Wilbore the prest' whose pension Morice wanted after Wilbore died.

8. Narratives of the Reformation, ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Society (1859); DNB., sub Morice; J. Ridley, Cranmer (Oxford, 1962), passim; G.W. Bromiley, Cranmer (London, 1956), p. 3; T. Maynard, Cranmer (London, 1956), 21, 119, 122, 126, 133.

For one thing it was less than two years after he had been collated to St. Dunstan's¹ that it was reported that he ministered the communion in common bread. Then, on 22 April, 1574, less than a year after the complaint about the communion bread, Weekes was prohibited by the judge of the consistory court from preaching or interpreting the scripture at any time in the future.² Finally, it is just conceivable that Parker chose a man of somewhat advanced views to serve the vicarage of conservatively-oriented St. Dunstan's for the same reason that puritans were to be encouraged, during the reign of James I and Charles I, to go to 'pagan' Wales and Roman Catholic Ireland, and that Aylmer in 1577 wanted to send puritans north---i.e. 'to wear out [their] zeal on the papists.'³ William Roper (1496-1578), the biographer of Sir Thomas More, owned land and was influential in Weekes's parish.⁴ Moreover attached to St. Dunstan's was the so-called Roper Chapel of St. Nicholas. In fact, the 'blasphemous windowe in the chappell of Mr. Roper' was another of the things that the churchwardens of St. Dunstan's complained about in 1573.⁵

While it is thus possible that Weekes had puritan tendencies, to categorize as a puritan the third user of common bread as a puritan would be to empty the word of any significant meaning. William Sweting showed none of the other traits we tend to associate with puritanism. There was, for example, nothing specifically Calvinistic in the only statement of faith that we have from him---i.e., the preamble to his will. In a few phrases Sweting committed his soul into the

1. Reg., p. 881.

2. Cant. MS./Y/3/17, fo. 4.

3. Collinson, 'John Field and Elizabethan Puritanism', p. 140.

4. Cavendish & Roper: *Two Early Tudor Lives*, ed. R. Sylvester and D.P. Harding (New Haven, 1962), pp. vii-xxi, 197-254; DNB., sub William Roper; Cal. S.P. Rome, I (1558-1571), 68; S.P./12/59, fos. 139, 141, 168.

5. Cf. Cant. MS./X/1/12, fos. 100v-101.

hands of 'our heavenly father [hoping to be saved] by the mercy, death, passion and blood-shedding of our Saviour Jesus Christ,' and then went on to dispose of his estate. Nor is there anything particularly idealistic about the content of his will: Sweting parcelled his estate out to his own family and to various members of the Bridges and Slapp families and said nothing about charity, schools or sermons.¹

Sweting had not been particularly interested in sermons during his lifetime either. He himself did not preach nor was he licensed to preach. The churchwardens of St. George's complained in 1564 that Sweting did not hire anyone to preach the quarter sermons. Sweting admitted that it was true that he provided St. George's with no sermons but said that most of his parishioners went of their own free will to the cathedral every Sunday to hear the sermon there and that he urged the slackers to do likewise. The visiting ordinary apparently considered this to be a satisfactory arrangement and dismissed the case.²

Nor was there anything about Sweting's training or clerical advancement which would indicate radical interests or friendships. Sweting was probably the son of a Canterbury artisan. He had no university training. Parker ordained him in early 1560 and he was admitted to St. George's on 23 May, 1561, on the patronage of the cathedral. He held the benefice until his death sometime before 15 October, 1574.³ The clerical surveys of 1561 and 1569 described him as being a married priest of mediocre learning who was resident and hospitable at St. George's.⁴ He

1. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/42, fos. 247-248.

2. Cant. MS./X/1/5, fos. 96v-97.

3. Reg., pp. 343, 344, 388, 781, 1126; Parker, *Corresp.*, pp. 120-121.

4. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 20; Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fos. 33, 33v.

appeared regularly at ordinary visitations¹ catechised the youth, said the services, saw to it that the required changes were made in his church (the rood loft, for example, was down by November, 1561),² etc. Although St. George's was the only benefice Sweting held, he was also curate (1561-1574) of the rectory of St. Mary Bredman, Canterbury. The benefice of St. Mary Bredman was too poor to support an incumbent but Sweting received, by sequestration, whatever fruits there were.³

Aside from his own mediocrity, the only serious problem that Sweting faced was that several of his parishioners were infrequent attenders at church. William Swane and his wife, perhaps because of recusant tendencies, were reluctant to take communion⁴ and five infrequent attenders at church were reported in 1573.⁵ But the case which was, perhaps, of the most intrinsic interest was that of shoemaker John Marly, the father of Christopher Marlowe. 'We present John Marly', the churchwardens of St. George's wrote in 1567, 'for that he comethe not to churche as he ought to doe.'⁶ Marlowe, the dramatist, had been born and christened in Sweting's parish three years earlier. Educated at King's School, Canterbury, Christopher Marlowe was destined to hold, from 1581 until 1587 at Corpus Christi College Cambridge one of the three scholarships Parker had endowed in his will.⁷

1. E.g., Cant. MSS./Z/3/7, fos. 26, 70, 98; /Z/3/9, fo. 173v.

2. Cant. MS./Z/3/8, fo. 14v.

3. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 20; Cant. MSS./Z/3/7, fo. 45;/1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 1; A.C., XXIX (1911), 273.

4. Cant. MS./X/1/10, fo. 4v.

5. A.C., XXIX (1911), 278.

6. Cant. MS./X/1/8, fo. 131v.

7. P.C.C./1575/39 Rych; J. Bakeless, *The Tragical History of Christopher Marlowe*, I (Hamden, 1964), 34-37, 47-50, 57, 346; II, 162. Bakeless (I, 11) notes 'Reverend Arthur Sweting' in connection with the marriage of Marlowe's parents. Bakeless's exhaustive work has no reference, however, to Marcus Saunders who succeeded Sweting as rector of St. George's on 15 October, 1574 (Reg., p. 1126).

('Without the scholarships which Parker's will provided, Marlowe would not have gone to Cambridge.' And the dramatist drew heavily, for Tamburlaine and Edward the Second, upon books and manuscripts which Parker had bequeathed to Corpus. Marlowe had seen Parker during the archbishop's 1573 visitation of the cathedral.)¹

If there was anything at all puritanical in Sweting's ideas it certainly produced a distinctly non-puritan outlook in the boy who was, by the time of his death at ^{the} age ^{of} twenty-nine, to 'work a revolution in English dramatic art.'² Marlowe's contemporary at St. George's, Stephen Gosson the author of Schoole of Abuse, was also Marlowe's contemporary among the London dramatists. Sweting died when Marlowe was only ten but perhaps, considering the playwright's precocity, his antinomianism (as Sir Sidney Lee called it)³ and his doubts about the faith were not totally unrelated to the mediocrity of his boyhood priest. Perhaps in the long run Christopher Marlowe was to have more influence upon the Sweting family than it did upon him: one of William Sweting's sons, a Canterbury notary, listed among his books in 1604 Marlowe's Tamburlaine.

(iii) RETURNED EXILES.

At least five of the sixty-seven clergymen presented in Canterbury diocese for non-conformity during Parker's administration had been Marian Exiles. Two of these were William Wattes and Thomas Turpyn of Dover deanery.⁴ A third returned exile was Eustace Frencham; at least, all available evidence points to this

1. Bakeless, I, 47.

2. DNB., sub Marlowe; W.G. Urry, 'John Lyly and Canterbury', Friends of Canterbury Cathedral Thirty Third Annual Report (1960), 22.

3. DNB., sub Marlowe; P.H. Kocher, 'Marlowe's Atheist Lecture', Marlowe: A Collection of Critical Essays, C. Leach ed. (New Jersey, 1964), 159-166; M. Eccles, 'Marlowe in Kentish Tradition,' N. & Q., CLXIX (1935). Bakeless, I, 48.

4. Garrett, pp. 316, 323.

man as the son of exile Edward Frencham of Kent. Edward Frencham, the nature-loving¹ friend of John Foxe, John Jewel, Christopher Goodman and Peter Martyr, probably died abroad in 1559.²) Garrett wrote that 'the family in Kent seems to have become extinct' with the death of Edward, but on 29 February, 1564, Eustace Frencham was admitted rector of Stowting in Elham deanery on the patronage of Sir Thomas Kempe³ and on 1 December, 1564, Parker collated Frencham vicar of Elmsted in the same deanery.⁴

At first Frencham caused little comment among his parishioners except that he was somewhat remiss in providing for a preacher and that in 1565 he cut down four of the trees in Stowting churchyard to repair the rectory⁵ (which repair, in spite of complaints for six years by the churchwardens, Frencham's predecessor, Clement Gregory, had not done).⁶ Frencham himself found it difficult to keep up the repairs on the church and parsonage,⁷ but he was able to certify in 1572 that he had completed repairs to the chancel.⁸ Elmsted too needed repairs⁹ and perhaps these matters kept Frencham occupied---at least during the early years of his incumbency the churchwardens did not complain about any failure to conform.

Frencham was not a graduate nor is there any record of his having attended

1. '...at this season of the year, when one hears the cuckoo, [Frencham] is rarely at home.' John Jewel, April, 1559, quoted in Garrett, p. 158. Frencham would have felt at home with fisherman Alexander Nowell and amateur botanists Richard Turner and Edmund Grindal.

2. Ibid., p. 158.

3. Reg., pp. 449, 804.

4. Ibid., pp. 450, 810.

5. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./43/1, fos. 9v-10v.

6. Ibid., fo. 9v; Reg., p. 804; Cant. MSS./X/1/4, fos. 54v, 55; /Z/3/7, fo. 129; /Z/3/5, fo. 141; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 23v.

7. Cant. MS./X/1/7, fos. 134v-136.

8. Cant. MS./X/1/11, fo. 133v.

9. Ibid., fo. 127v.

a university.¹ He was married, and, in 1569, he lived at Stowting where he was hospitable according to his ability. By 1570, however, he had hired a curate, William Hunte,² for Stowting and was himself resident at Elmsted.³ It was there, in 1573, that the churchwardens reported that he did not wear a surplice.⁴ Frencham was not a licensed preacher nor, as of 1569, did he preach,⁵ but in 1574 the churchwardens of Stowting reported to the visiting commissary general that Eustace Frencham 'dothe interprete scriptures without licens,' or, as they rephrased it, he 'exhorteth and interpreteth scriptures without lawfull authority'.⁶ Frencham confessed to the truth of the accusation but said that he hoped that he had 'not exhorted contrary to the true meaning of the scripture'. The commissary general ordered him not to interpret the scriptures but simply to follow the Prayer Book order of common service and communion and not to do otherwise until he was authoritatively licensed, sub pena iuris. Frencham's moments of non-conformity did not lose him his Canterbury benefices, at least not as long as Parker was archbishop, and therefore he must have conformed after 1574, at least for the time being.

Another Canterbury clergyman who, at least in 1569, did not conform in the matter of communion bread⁷ and who had an exilic background, was Thomas Knell, junior. (As with Eustace Frencham we lack positive, conclusive, evidence that he

1. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 30v; Foster; Venn.

2. Cant. MS./X/1/10, fo. 88.

3. This is the inference I draw from A.C., XXIX (1911), 294 and the fact he had a curate at Stowting.

4. Ibid., 294, 295.

5. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 30v.

6. Cant. MSS./Y/3/137, fos. 56, 58; cf. /Z/5/2.

7. H.C. Mag., V, 13; Cant. MS./Z/3/10, fo. 42v, has Paul Colman as vicar and Mr. Knell as curate. It is conceivable that Colman was the one using leavened bread.

himself was an exile, but Thomas Knell, senior, probably his father¹, was an exile at Geneva. The fact that both men had the same name complicates matters; it is even conceivable that they were both Canterbury diocesan incumbents. Both of them were writers, the son being especially prolific ⁱⁿ of anti-papal tracts and exhortations of the faithful to godliness².) On 10 January, 1560, Parker collated Thomas Knell rector of Warehorne, Lympe deanery, in the diocese of Canterbury.³ Knell kept this benefice for the duration of Parker's administration and beyond. In 1561 Thomas Knell, B.A., rector of Warehorne, was described as resident and hospitable at Warehorne, his only benefice, and as a learned, married, priest who did not preach because he had been prohibited from doing so.⁴ In 1562 the archdiaconal visitors appointed him dean of Lympe deanery for the year,⁵ and in 1565 (by which time he was described as a preacher) Knell was appointed along with preacher Robert Pownall by the visiting ordinary to judge in the case of a layman, George Egerden of Wye, who had not received communion since the reign of Edward VI and who was reported as having 'certain eronious opinions among the which he said the sacrament is not given according as God left it.'⁶ It was in 1569 that curate 'Mr. Knell' of Selling in Lympe deanery was detected for ministering communion in common bread.⁷ On 19 September, 1569, Parker collated Thomas Knell, B.A., vicar of Lyminge in Elham deanery.⁸ Knell, apparently, moved to

1. DNB., sub 'Thomas Knell'; Garrett, pp. 209-210.

2. Ibid.; STC.

3. Reg., pp. 468-469.

4. C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 28v.

5. Cant. MS./Z/3/7, fo. 97v.

6. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./43/1, fos. 1v-2.

7. Cf. note 2, page 277 above.

8. Reg., p. 857.

Lyning because the survey of 1569 recorded that, though he was rector of Warehorne, he was not resident there but at Lyning. The survey also said that he was not hospitable at Warehorne, was married, preached and was licensed to preach, and had not provided Warehorne with a curate.¹ He resigned Lyning within about a year, perhaps because he lacked a plurality.² That deficiency, however, Knell rectified. On 20 September, 1571, Parker granted to Thomas Knell, B.A., rector of Warehorne in Canterbury diocese, a dispensation to hold two benefices, providing they were not over thirty [sic] miles apart. For this grant, Parker charge him the handsome fee of six pounds ten shillings.³ In what way Knell made use of the dispensation I have not been able to determine.

The third non-conformist with an exilic background was Robert Pownall, D.D., one of the six preachers of the diocese.⁴ (Two of Pownall's 'companions in exile' had been John Bale and Richard Beseley.⁵) Pownall's most important role in the diocese was that of a preacher, but he was also vicar of St. Clement's in Sandwich. In 1569 and 1573 it was reported that the communion at St. Clement's was 'ministered in fine white common bread'.⁶ In 1569 there was no curate, but it was reported that the church was set aside for the use of foreigners.⁷ By 1573 Pownall was dead and the churchwardens still reported the use of leavened bread and the court took no action.⁸ This probably meant that the service performed at St. Clement's was that of one of the refugee churches and that Pownall, as vicar, did not stop them from using leavened bread. Whether or not he himself ministered communion

1. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 2v.

2. Reg., pp. 863.

3. Lambeth MS./723, fo. 31v.

4. Appendix, pp. 401-02.

5. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/35, fos. 167v-168.

6. H.C. Mag., V, 210; A.C., XXIX (1911), 288.

7. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 10.

8. A.C., XXIX (1911), 288; Cant. MS./Z/3/11, no folio number.

is uncertain.

Thus, it may be that an exilic background accounted for some of the non-conformity in Canterbury diocese. For the most part, however, it is difficult to determine exactly from whence came the fresh wave of non-conformity in 1569 and afterwards. Who was responsible, in fact, for non-conformity? Was the curate who failed to wear a surplice or failed to use unleavened bread simply acting upon the instructions of the incumbent who had hired him? Or, on the other hand, were the real sources of non-conformity the sermons preached by radical clergymen who urged others not to conform but who themselves escaped the correction of the episcopal administrators by avoiding, as much as was possible, serving communion or saying common prayer? Were the humbler of the non-conformists the actual source of non-conformity, or was it rather the recent attenders at university who, especially from about 1568 onwards, were taking up ecclesiastical posts in Canterbury diocese but who, for the most part, did not themselves get into trouble over the surplice or communion bread?

Part of the problem is to determine exactly who it was that was not conforming. The presentments of the churchwardens (as distinct from the call books) seldom gave the name of the clergyman and, where there was both an incumbent and a curate, the churchwardens' presentments did not always specify whether it was the incumbent or the curate who was not conforming. Presumably it would be, in such instances, the curate, because the incumbent hired a curate for the express purpose of administering communion and conducting the services of common prayer; but here again the problem is complicated by the lack of a complete set of visitors' call books. For the years 1573 to 1575 especially we lack a complete set of call books and

consequently, where a curate was involved, it has had to be assumed that the same man who was curate in 1572 or 1571 was curate in 1573. Such an approach leaves room for error.¹

Some of the questions cannot, at this stage, be answered. All we can do is present as much information as possible about the clergy who did not themselves always conform, and one thing about which we do have definite knowledge is the university careers of some of the occasional non-conformists.

(iv) UNIVERSITY GRADUATES.

At least thirteen² of the Canterbury non-conformists were graduates. Where three of the graduates, Robert Pownall, D.D., Thomas Knell, B.A., and John Melvyn, M.A., took their degrees is not known: neither Venn nor Foster list them. Three of the graduates, Gervase Lynche, M.A., Thomas Carden, M.A., and George Elye, M.A., were Oxonians. The other seven of the thirteen, Alexander, Fletcher, Joye, Pyckard, Calthrope, Caldwell and Barlow, were Cambridge graduates.³

Some of the graduates who had taken all or most of their university training before the accession of Elizabeth seem to have worn very lightly their non-conformist inclinations. This was true of Pownall and Knell and it was also true of two of the Oxonians, Lynche and Carden. Thomas Carden, who had graduated B.A. from Oxford in 1529,⁴ confessed in 1573 that, as vicar of Elham, he had used common

1. E.g., was it John Caldwell, M.D., vicar of St. Laurence-in-Thamet, or an unknown curate, who was the occasional non-conformist in that parish?

2. John Ingram, rector of St. James, Dover, may also have been a university graduate. (Venn, A.C., I, ii, 449; Foster, AO., I, iii, 788) He has not been included in these calculations.

3. William Barlow, curate of Iwade, B.A. in 1573, was probably a Cambridge graduate and is included among these eight. (Venn, AC., I, ii, 88-90; Cant. MSS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 15v; /Z/3/9, fo. 111; H.C. Mag., VI, 28; Reg., 1068, 1069.) It is practically impossible that curate Barlow was the same Barlow who was bishop of Chichester. (Reg., passim.)

4. Foster, AO., 236.

bread in the communion service,¹ but he certainly was not a puritan: he had held ecclesiastical offices throughout the reign of Mary and was even, in 1570, accused of being a 'papiste'.²

Gervase Lynche ministered communion 'in common brede' at his rectory of Elmstone in 1573³ and, in the same year, sometimes used leavened bread and sometimes 'wafer cakes' at his vicarage of Preston.⁴ He did not employ curates⁵ so it was Lynche himself who was using common bread. Lynche, who was from Kent, entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1534 and took his B.A. in 1539. In 1541 he proceeded M.A. After having served elsewhere, Lynche became vicar of Elmstone in 1550 and he held the benefice continuously until 1580 when he resigned and George Joye succeeded him.⁶ He seems briefly to have held Preston in 1559 and 1560, in which year he resigned it, but was re-admitted in 1565 and continued to hold it until 1581.⁷ He also, upon occasion, was curate of Minster in Thanet and also St. John's in Thanet, both in Westbere deanery. He was not married, he did not preach, but he did reside right in the diocese and was usually hospitable in the parish in which he happened, at the time, to be living.⁸

Another of the non-conformists who had taken much of his education before the accession of Elizabeth was John Caldwell, cl. B.A., M.D., and his non-conformity too seems to have been a rather superficial thing. John Caldwell (sometimes styled Goldwell), was born in Canterbury diocese in 1524---at Faversham⁹ the home

1. A.C., XXIX (1911), 295, Cant. MS./Z/3/11, fo. 31v.

2. Cant. MS./X/10/11, fos. 248-250.

3. A.C., XXIX (1911), 281, 283.

4. Ibid., 283.

5. Cant. MSS./Z/3/11, fo. 66v; /1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 27v.

6. Foster, AO., I, iii, 954.

7. Cant. MS./Z/3/5; Reg., p. 772, 1032-3; Lambeth MS./Registrum Grindali', fo. 519v.

8. Harpes., pp. 85, 297; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 21, 21v.

9. Cant. MS./X/10/17, fos. 111-115.

of Dr. William Harvey (1578-1657), discoverer of the circulation of the blood.¹ Caldwell, according to his own testimony given in 1574, lived at Faversham until he was fifteen, then lived for eight years in the parish of 'Lamantij' in Cambridgeshire, and returned to Faversham in 1547 which he then made his home---at least until 1574. Caldwell had entered St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1551, at which time Parker was president of Corpus. Caldwell had graduated B.A. in 1555, M.A. in 1558, and M.D. in 1564. In 1558 his college had made him a fellow.²

Parker collated John Caldwell, 'B.A.',^a vicar of St. Laurence in Thanet on 27 December, 1567.³ Sometimes Caldwell provided St. Laurence with a curate, sometimes he did not,⁴ and thus it is difficult to know whether it was Caldwell himself or his curate who in 1569 was serving communion in common bread. In 1573, in spite of a specific court order enjoining the contrary, the clergyman of St. Laurence was still serving the communion in common bread. In addition, in 1573 the non-conformist was reported for not wearing a surplice but this seems to have been because the parish did not own one. The guilty clergyman admitted the truth of the charges and was ordered by the visitors to appear before them for a decision at a later date.⁵

If Caldwell had any sympathies for puritanism they apparently were not deep enough to prevent him from co-operating, in the end, with Parker. Parker collated Caldwell, on 8 July, 1569, to the Canterbury benefice of Aldington with Smeth

1. DNB., sub William Harvey.

2. Venn, AC., I, i, 366. Richard Caldwell, M.D., from Staffordshire, was a different man than this clergyman. Foster, AO., I, i, 230. Cf. DNB., sub Richard Caldwell.

3. Reg., p. 835.

4. Cant. MS./Z/3/9, fo. 194v.

5. Lambeth MS./S.R./78/5, fo. 63; Cant. MSS./Z/3/11, fo. 13v; /Z/3/9, fo. 194v; A.C., XXIX (1911), 288; Venn, AC., I, i, 366.

chapel.¹ Though he served this cure through curate Anthony Brymstone,² Caldwell continued to hold this benefice for the duration of Parker's administration. This was also true of Tunstall rectory, Canterbury deanery, to which Parker collated 'John Coldwell, M.D.,' on 13 June, 1572.³ Caldwell was also Parker's chaplain. From 1571 until 1575 Caldwell was archdeacon of Chichester. In 1580 he was made rector of Saltwood with Hythe chapel and in 1591, the year of his death, Caldwell became bishop of Salisbury.⁴

Richard Fletcher was another Canterbury clergyman who had taken his degree before Elizabeth's accession, was reported for non-conformity during the time of Parker's administration, and whose non-conformity did not indicate genuine puritan tendencies. Fletcher (1521-1586) took his Cambridge M.A., in 1540⁵ was ordained by Ridley during the reign of Edward VI, and was, during Parker's administration, reputed to be distinctly hostile towards the puritans. He was especially notorious for his disagreement with 'Mr. Good', the puritanically-inclined schoolmaster of Cranbrook. Yet in 1573 Fletcher was reported at both his Biddenden curacy and his Cranbrook vicarage for non-conformity. At Biddenden it was said that he did not wear a surplice.⁶ When he appeared to answer the charge he said that it had been true because the churchwardens had failed to provide one, but that since the time that they had provided one he had worn it.⁷ At Cranbrook the situation

1. Reg., p. 853.

2. Cant. MS./X/8/9c, fo. 30.

3. Reg., pp. 1109.

4. Venn, AC., I, i, 366. Cf. A.C., XXX (1914), 60-61.

5. Venn, AC., I, ii, 150; Reg., p. 388; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 24v; S.P./12/76, fo. 43v; Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fos. 6v, 7; Lambeth MSS./S.R./78/5, fo. 175v; /723, fo. 51.

6. A.C., XXIX (1911), 310; Cant. MS./Z/3/11, fo. 66v.

7. Ibid., fo. 66v.

was similar: he was reported in 1573 for not using unleavened bread, but when he appeared he said that he used a substitute because the churchwardens did not provide the right bread.¹ He was given a warning in the matter and nothing more was heard of it. Fletcher, the grandfather of the playwright, had supplied Foxe with information for his book, was the father of one son who was a royal chaplain, almoner, and eventually dean of Peterborough, and also the father of another son who was James I's ambassador to the Emperor of the Russias, He himself lived until 1586 and served Cranbrook for 26 years and seven months with no apparent love lost for puritans.²

Of the Oxonians who were reported among the Canterbury non-conformists of 1569-1573 George Elye alone appears to have clung to his puritan tendencies with some tenacity. Elye graduated B.A. from Oxford in 1566 and proceeded M.A. in 1569.³ In 1569 and 1570 he was subpreceptor of King's School.⁴ He was admitted vicar of Tenterden 16 April, 1571, on the patronage of dean Godwyn.⁵ In 1573 communion was ministered at Tenterden in common bread,⁶ but the visitors did not try to do much about it.⁷ Later, Elye, along with 21 others of his parish, signed a letter on behalf of the puritan printer John Strowd to the archbishop "to exonerate Mr. John Strowde...of all manner of just reprehension to our knowledge."⁸ In 1584 he did not subscribe to Whitgift's articles (though he is

1. A.C., XXIX (1911), 312; Cant. MSS./Z/3/11, fo. 60; /Z/3/9, fo. 173.
2. DNB., sub Fletcher; brass plaque in Cranbrook church where Fletcher was buried.
3. Foster, AO., I, ii, 461.
4. Reg., p. 535.
5. Ibid., p. 875.
6. A.C., XXIX (1911), 310. In 1571 Elye had no curate: Cant. MS./Z/3/9, fo. 176v.
7. Cant. MS./Z/3/11, fo. 56 reads simply 'Mynyster dimisit'.
8. The Seconde Parte of a Register, I, 114.

said to have been vicar from 1571 until 1615)¹ and, in the same year, when Elye was said to have 'set Tenterden his parish together by the ears which before was quiet', was defended by others who said that all most certainly was not quiet in his parish before he came.² The latter statement was most certainly true. Elye's predecessor, non-resident John Bendall, had farmed the vicarage without reserving any revenues from it for the support of his curate, William Cockes. It was doubtful that he gave any relief to the poor; revenue from church stock was withheld; bequests were withheld;³ curate Thomas Cockes used common bread; a layman, John Hopton, read divine service; and there were at least two non-communicants⁴ in the parish of 194 households and 586 communicants.⁵ Probably the 'unquietness' caused by Elye was of a nature somewhat different from this disorder, but it was certainly true that there were many things amiss before he became incumbent.

Besides Barlow, Caldwell and Fletcher, the Cantabridgians among the Canterbury non-conformists were Robert Alexander (Elizander), B.A., Richard Calthrope, M.A., George Joye, M.A., and John Pyckarde, M.A. Joye, Pyckard and Calthrope were all graduates of the mid-1560's, and Robert Alexander may have been: he was styled 'A.B.' by Parker's registrar in 1573⁶, though neither in 1566 nor in 1569 was he described as a graduate and, though one Robert Alexander was a student at Cambridge in 1544,⁷ neither Venn nor Foster have an entry which clearly describes Parker's

1. *Ibid.*, I, 230; A.C. XLIV (1932), 132; XXXI (1915), 221-22.

2. *The Seconde Parte of a Register*, I, 238.

3. *Cant. MSS./X/1/8*, fos. 4-4v, 54, 75, 82, 109v, 110v; */Z/3/9*, fo. 2v; */X/1/9*, fo. 96v.

4. *H.C. Mag.*, V, 287-88; *Cant. MSS./Z/3/10*, fo. 36v; */X/1/10*, fo. 82v.

5. *Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey*, fo. 7.

6. *Reg.*, pp. 1075, 1109.

7. *Venn, AC.*, I, i, 15.

vicar of Hedcorne. However, on the basis of the available evidence, Alexander is here classified as a Cambridge graduate.

Robert Alexander (Elizander), curate of Chartham, did not, in 1569, wear a surplice and he ministered the communion in common bread.¹ In 1573 communion was still ministered in common bread at Chartham, though apparently by that time the curate was wearing a surplice.²

Alexander had been admitted rector of Orlaston on the patronage of Thomas Scott, esq., on August 31, 1566.³ He resigned the benefice in 1569 and his Chartham curacy came after the Orlaston rectory. In 1573 Parker collated him to Hedcorne vicarage in the diocese of Canterbury.⁴

Alexander's occasional flirtations with nonconformity do not appear to have impaired seriously his ecclesiastical career. He continued to hold Hedcorne until his death in 1580. His will showed no particularly strong religious bias: he simply bequeathed his soul to Almighty God who had, he wrote, created, redeemed and sanctified him. He left small bequests to the poor of Hedcorne, to his godsons Robert Gynynge and Christopher Dowyne and permitted a couple to live in rooms in his house for a few months after his death. He left all his books to Richard Granger, parson of Frittenden and also, to Granger, he left his two 'peachickens of what kynde or sex soever'. He made his 'beloved Amy Kelsham' residuary legatee.⁵

Two of the diocesan nonconformists had been students at St. John's College, Cambridge, at almost the same time. One of these men, William Calthrope, graduated

1. H.C. Mag., V, 119; Cant. MS./Z/3/10, fo. 30.
2. A.C., XXIX (1911), 281.
3. Reg., pp. 461, 826, 859.
4. Reg., pp. 1075, 1109.
5. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/46 (1585-86), fo. 37.

B.A. in 1568 and M.A. in 1571.¹ On 14 March, 1569, he was admitted vicar of Sittingbourne on the patronage of the Queen.² He was described in 1569 as resident and at Sittingbourne, as hospitable as he could afford to be. He held only this benefice of 80 households and 300 communicants. He was married. He did not preach in 1569 nor was he licensed to preach.³ In 1573 he was presented for not wearing the surplice on Sundays⁴ but his non-conformity did not mean the loss of his benefice: he was vicar of Sittingbourne until 1587.⁵

The other Johnian among the diocesan non-conformists was George Joye. This George Joye was the son of the Henrician biblical translator, reformer, and exile.⁶ George Joye the younger, who came from Canterbury, graduated from Cambridge with a B.A. in 1564. He proceeded M.A. in 1567 and B.D. in 1575. His college, St. John's, made him a fellow in 1565. He was ordained deacon in the diocese of Ely in 1569 at which time he was twenty-six years of age.⁷ On October 10, 1570, Parker admitted him to the rectory of St. Peter's, Sandwich, on the patronage of the Queen,⁸ and it was at this parish that, in 1573, the churchwardens reported that the communion was 'ministred in common brede'.⁹ One would much like to know whether or not it was Joye himself who was not conforming because the 'minister' who appeared to answer the charges confessed that it was true that he was using common bread but said

'that yt is so appoynted he should both by the service booke, the injunctions, and the laste Parlements.'

1. Venn, AC., I, i, 284.
2. Reg., pp. 569, 845.
3. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 14.
4. A.C., XXIX (1911), 297.
5. Venn, AC., I, i, 284.
6. DNB.
7. Venn, AC., I, ii, 491.
8. Reg., pp. 594, 863.
9. A.C., XXIX (1911), 287.

Having given such an answer, the judge told him that 'from henceforth he no more mynster the communion with common bread, sub pena' and the case was dismissed.¹ It is conceivable that this is the answer of a curate because in 1569, before Joye was made rector, the 'minister' also used 'fine manchet bread'.² It is possible that the same man, an unknown curate, ministered the communion both times, but because positive evidence is lacking, we shall have to assume that in 1569 it was rector Thomas Pett³ and in 1573 it was rector George Joye. In any event, whatever non-conformist sympathies Joye had, they did not prevent him from continuing to be a parish clergyman: on 5 March, 1575, he was admitted vicar of St. Clement's, Sandwich, on the patronage of archdeacon Freke, and he continued to hold the benefice until his death in 1600.⁴ Joye was also vicar of Higham, not in Canterbury diocese, from 1573 to 1575. In 1574 he held the rectory of St. Mary, Dover, and from 1580 until 1600 he was rector of Elmstone, also in Canterbury diocese. He was buried at Elmstone.⁵

John Pyckard, who was Edward Dering's curate at Pluckley,⁶ had been a student at Christ's College, Cambridge. The evidence is somewhat contradictory, but he probably graduated with a Cambridge B.A. in 1563 and an M.A. in 1566 and was a fellow of his college from 1563 to 1568.⁷ He first appeared in Canterbury diocese in the following year, 1569, was Dering's curate at Pluckley at which time and place

1. Cant. MS./Z/3/11, fo. 5v.

2. H.C. Mag., V, 212.

3. Reg., pp. 461, 824; Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 9v.

4. Reg., pp. 1133, 1152; Venn, AC., I, ii, 491.

5. Ibid., I, ii, 491.

6. Cant. MS./Z/3/10, fo. 36v.

7. Reg., p. 861; Venn, AC., I, iii, 358; Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 6v.

he was administering communion in common bread.¹ Pyckard was at this time unmarried and may have been a preacher.² In the following year he became incumbent of Pluckley: Parker collated him to the benefice on 15 March, 1570, (at which time he was described M.A.) Edward Dering, S.T.B., having resigned.³ Pyckard, who seems to have been a resident clergyman with only one benefice did not, after that, arouse the attention of the ordinaries of Canterbury diocese during Parker's administration.

It is worthwhile noticing, however, that Christ's College, Cambridge, was also Dering's College and was at the time that Pyckard was a student and fellow there

'a seed-bed of puritan religion, a society with a character of its own which was not exactly matched by any other college in either university, and which it owed to a remarkable succession of tutors....Here there grew a puritan tradition moderate in its reaction to those questions of ceremonies and church order which are usually represented as the main ground of puritan protest, but passionately indignant against the practical inadequacies of the Elizabethan church and above all against its pastoral deficiencies. It was a tradition established and begun, in all probability, by Dering himself.'⁴

The firmness with which non-conformist convictions were held, and the long-term significance of occasional non-conformity, thus varied considerably. There were clergymen such as Frencham, Evans, Weekes and Elye whose non-conformity did signify a mildly puritan position. Evans, for example, refused to subscribe to Whitgift's articles and was in consequence suspended.⁵ There were others, such

1. H.C. Mag., V, 286.

2. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 6v.

3. Reg., pp. 593, 861.

4. P. Collinson, ... 'Dering', pp. 6-7; Cf. H.C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 236-8. Collinson's description of the puritanism of Dering could also apply to that of John Walsall, the six preacher, and tutor of Francis Bacon. See appendix, pp. 403.

5. Collinson, 'The Puritan Classical Movement in the Reign of Elizabeth I', pp. 422n, 1277; B.M. MS./Addit./34,729, fo. 51.

as Anthony Grimstone and Nicholas Brimstone whose puritanism was later revealed but who did not appear among the non-conformists of Parker's administration. Grimstone and Brimstone were to be among those described by Whitgift as 'not conformeable' preachers.¹ Edward Dering and printer John Strowd were the most notable of the men whose puritan convictions were strong enough so that they could not co-operate with Parker and his diocesan officers. A few clergymen may have been eased out of service in Canterbury diocese during Parker's administration on account of non-conformity. John Rygate, the rector of Little Hardres who did not wear a surplice in 1573,² had resigned his benefice by 27 April 1574--- quite probably in order to avoid deprivation.³ William Howgrave also ceased to serve in the diocese for, it seems, reasons of conscience. In 1574 Parker simply declared that Lyming, where Howgrave had been in 1573 ministering communion in common bread,⁴ was legally vacant, 'leg. vac.', and collated another in Howgrave's place.⁵ George Joye lost his benefice in a similar way,⁶ but on 5 March, 1575, on the patronage of archdeacon Freke, Parker admitted Joye to another Canterbury benefice.⁷ Either the loss of the first benefice had not been for non-conformity or else Joye had conformed in the interval.

Fourteen other Canterbury benefices were declared legally vacant (with no explanation of how or why) between 1 January, 1572, and 17 May, 1575.⁸ Some of

1. Ibid., fos. 50v-51.

2. A.C., XXIX (1911), 277; Cant. MSS./Z/3/11, fo. 79v; /Z/3/10, fo. 23v; /1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 36. Though Rygate employed a curate in 1569, by 1573 he did not.

3. Reg., pp. 1093, 1115.

4. Reg., pp. 1093, 1123.

5. Ibid., pp. 594, 863; A.C., XXIX (1911), 294; Cant. MS./Z/3/11, fo. 30; C.P.R. Eliz., IV, 217.

6. A.C., XXIX (1911), 287; Cant. MS./Z/3/11, fo. 5v; Reg., pp. 594, 863, 1109.

7. Reg., p. 1133.

8. Ibid., pp. 1097-1140.

these benefices may have been vacant because of clerical non-conformity, but we do not possess corollary evidence and at least seven,¹ and perhaps all fourteen, had been vacant and destitute for economic or demographic reasons, not because of clerical non-conformity, for many years.

There was, however, no full scale conflict, as in London diocese, between Parker and the clerical puritans of Canterbury diocese. The majority of the non-conformists seem to have accepted Parker's rulings to an extent sufficient for them to retain their benefices. Forty-two of the forty-six non-conformist incumbents (as distinct from curates) still held benefices in Canterbury diocese at the time of Parker's death.² To take but one example, Laurence Hollanden, vicar of St. Laurence-in-Thamet and about whom there had been complaints from Davington in 1569³, was admitted vicar of Tenham in 1570 and there were no complaints from Tenham about common bread in 1573 or 1574.⁴ Some of the non-conformists of Parker's administration, i.e., Caldwell, Alexander, Joye, Knell and Thomas Hudson, were listed as conforming preachers in the diocese of Canterbury in the 1580's.

It is a little more difficult to discern the fate of the twenty curates (as distinct from incumbents) who showed signs of non-conformity during Parker's administration, but some of them had, between the time of their reported non-

1. Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 1 (St. Mary, Norgate), fo. 2v (Shadoxhurst) fos. 3, 32 (Seasalter), fo. 5 (St. James Dover, St. Margaret Cliffe Dover), fo. 4 (Bonnington) and fo. 7 (Newenham). The other seven were Doddington, St. Andrew's Canterbury, Graveney, Brabourne, Frittenden, Wittersham and the Poor Priests' Hospital, Canterbury.

2. Reg., passim. William Christmas, vicar of St. Peter's Thanet was dead before 30 May, 1572 and William Sweting was dead by 15 October, 1574. Reg., p. 1126; H.C. Mag., V; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/42, fos. 247-48.

3. H.C. Mag., VI, 31; Cant. MS./Z/3/10, fo. 6v.

4. A.C., XXIX (1911), 299, 300; Cant. MS./X/1/2, fos. 83, 123v.

conformity and the time of Parker's death, been promoted to Canterbury incumbencies. William Haywarde (Harwarde), who had admitted in 1568 that he was using 'common bread' as curate of Eastchurch,¹ was by 1575 rector of Shadoxhurst.² John Picarde was vicar of Pluckley.³ Some were still serving as curates (but not as incumbents) at the time of Parker's death. These men were John Andrews the curate of Loose, George Bonde the curate of Appledore, William Barlow the curate of Iwade, Thomas Cockes the curate of Tenterden, Thomas Culverhouse the curate of Woodnesborough, Robert Hoode the curate of Barham, William Hunte the curate of Kingston, Thomas Hudson the curate of Frittenden, 'Knoppe' the curate of Burmarsh, Thomas Price the curate of Monckton, Hamlet Taylor the curate of Ash, Philip Simpson the curate of Biddenden, John Thyryll the curate of Appledore, Thomas Turpyn the curate of Dover, George Wreke the curate of Smeeth and William Watson the curate of Oare. Thus, while some of those clergymen who did not conform may have been quietly eased out of office, it seems that Parker did, on the whole, bring the clergy of his diocese to conform as far as the surplice and unleavened bread were concerned.

(v) EDWARD DERING.

In that latter years of Parker's administration the lines of division between Parker and the puritans became somewhat clearer and accommodation more difficult. This was a complex metamorphosis, but it can in part be explained by the emergence of English presbyterianism⁴ and also in part by Parker's growing physical infirmity

1. Cant. MS./X/1/9, fo. 48.

2. Reg., pp. 1093, 1126.

3. Ibid., pp. 835, 861.

4. D.J. McGinn, The Admonition Controversy (New Brunswick, 1949). Puritan Manifestos, ed. W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas (London, 1907), pp. xi-xxxv.

which not only made him more obsessed with the next world and less interested in considering the changes which were taking place on earth, but which also rendered him unable to preach and 'feed Christ's flock' in the manner expected by protestants.

Two men who were associated with Canterbury diocese during the time of Parker's administration were more or less friendly towards the presbyterian cause. The first of these was John Strowd, preacher at Cranbrook from 1573 until 1582¹ and printer and purveyor of the writings of Thomas Cartwright and Walter Travers. Much of the controversy surrounding Strowd was a Rochester diocese affair, but a six-preacher of Canterbury diocese, Richard Storar, was the principal witness against Strowd.² Though Strowd was imprisoned in London in 1574 in connection with the Undertree hoax,³ much of the action against him did not come, it seems, until Grindal's archiepiscopate. But at whatever date the action against Strowd came it is interesting to note that those who wrote to the archbishop on Strowd's behalf included such puritanically-connected people as vicar George Elye, M.A. of Tenterden, William Cockes curate of Marden, Thomas Wotton, gent., and Edward Dering's uncle, Thomas Brent.⁴

While it was clear that the admonitionist and other similar activities of John Strowd had to be curtailed and it seems that such action rallied the mildly

1. Collinson, 'The Puritan Classical Movement', I, 109-110, II, 1277.

2. The Seconde Parte of a Register, I, 108-120.

3. H.M.C. Salisbury, II, 76.

4. The Seconde Parte of a Register, I, 112. The other lay people who petitioned from Canterbury and Rochester dioceses on Strowd's behalf were J. Ascely, Elizabeth Goldinge, lady Henry Shelly, Richard Argall, George Molton, George Darrell, Guildeford Walsingham, William Lambert, James Clarke, Henry Fane, Nicholas Barham, Robert Rudston, Walter Roberts, Edward Wolton, George Marton, Thomas Whetenhall, Alexander Fisher and Robert Binge.

critical to the side of the more extreme, probably the most difficult puritanically-inclined individual associated with the diocese and with whom Parker had to contend was Edward Dering. Though he was not in complete sympathy with Cartwright and Field, Dering also had some dealings with them and thus provided a link between Canterbury diocese and the principal puritan vs. anglican controversy of the 1570's.

Edward Dering (ob. 1576) was of the Kent family of Surrenden-Dering which family was to be famous in the seventeenth century for its antiquarian activities, its piety, its leadership in the parliamentary cause and for the establishment of a branch of the family in America. Fortunately Dering has recently been excellently biographed,¹ but there were some aspects of his career which throw further light upon Parker's attitude towards the puritans and which were of importance in diocesan administration. For one thing, Edward Dering's ideas (especially after his 'conversion' around 1570) were of some influence in Kent. He wrote important ^thonoratory letters to such Canterbury diocesan people as lady Goldwell and Mrs. Honynwood, his own brothers, his uncle Thomas Brent, gent., of Charing, and to lord Abergavenny.²

Dering, perhaps the most outstanding Greek scholar of his day, a chaplain to Parker and to the duke of Norfolk, and a young man generally well-connected, was

1. P. Collinson, A Mirror of Elizabethan Puritanism: The Life and Letters of 'Godly Master Dering' (London, 1964). Cf. A.F. Scott Pearson, Thomas Cartwright (London, 1925), pp. 17, 41, 50, passim; Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz., (1547-1580), pp. 434, 439, 470; B.M. MS./Lansd./12, number 43; /15, number 72; /17, numbers 33, 90-92; /19, number 72.

2. Maidstone MS./Dering Corresp./U/350/C/1/2; Reg., pp. 780, 876.

collated by Parker to Pluckley vicarage in 1568.¹ But within the next two years, perhaps because of his own illness, perhaps because of the gravity of the international situation, Dering's attitude towards life changed and he became so outspoken, especially about ecclesiastical abuses and laxity, that he lost the favour of the Queen, of Cecil and of Parker---the three people who were most in a position to do him good or ill.

Dering's puritanism was not primarily a matter of theology. He said for example very little about the doctrine of the elect and his notion of the universal availability of the mercy of God was quite in agreement with Parker's theological position. His puritanism included a strong social conscience: he doubted the rightness of owning plate while people starved. His puritanism was not primarily an attack upon the existing ecclesiastical structure---though he did predict, perhaps in jest, that Parker would be the last archbishop of Canterbury.² Dering

'was more concerned with condemning the popish abuses of church offices than with dogmatically defining the offices themselves. This practical concern with the sins of prelacy rather than with the unlawfulness of episcopacy would always be characteristic of the main stream of the English Protestant tradition.

Yet one aspect of Dering's program, i.e. his ideas about how to obtain a learned, resident, single-beneficed, preaching clergy, was as much revolutionary as reformist. If there was any one idea to which Dering was fanatically attached, especially after 1569 when he undertook something of a one-man crusade, it was about the importance of preaching. Perhaps this accounts for Dering's own

1. Reg., pp. 593, 861.

2. H.M.C. Salisbury, II, 64.

3. Collinson, Dering, p. 26.

resignation in 1570 from Pluckley---a benefice which he had held in absentia though into which, it was true, he had introduced a curate, Picarde, who succeeded him as vicar and who was a graduate, a preacher, and probably in agreement with Dering.¹ Dering urged Parker to give more attention to the quality of ^{the}clergy in his diocese, to end absenteeism, to send his own chaplains out onto their benefices and to visit the diocese himself. 'The Lord's familie is committed unto you; feede them in their due season.'² Dering even went so far in his emphasis upon the importance of preaching as to declare, in a tract written at Parker's request to confute Nicholas Sanders's De visibili monarchia ecclesiae, that the church was 'a company caulyed together by the voice of a precher.'³ Dering told the Queen that, 'vaine policy' notwithstanding, the ignorant ought to be kept out of the ministry by taking away from the bishops the power to ordain at will. Moreover, he declaimed to Her Majesty, 'shake bucklers', 'ruffians', 'hawkers and hunters', 'dicers and carders', 'blind guides and...dumb dogs' ought not, as was the practice, be allowed into the ministry. Patrons of benefices should be prevented from selling or leasing their advowsons, or keeping them for their children, servingmen, or boys. He singled out for special attack institutions, such as the court of faculties, 'the author and nurse of all abominations',⁴ and documents, such as Cecil's new statutes for Cambridge,⁵ which tended to perpetuate

1. Reg., pp. 509, 593, 853, 861; Cant. MSS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 6v.

2. B.M. MS./Stowe/743, fos. 4-11v.

3. 'The Viseble Church: How it may be knowne', Maidstone MS./Dering/U/350/C/1/2; Corresp., pp. 409-410; cf. P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 208 where Parker recorded that in 1569 there were 32 preachers in his diocese.

4. Edward Dering, A Sermon Preached before the Queene's Maiestie the 25 day of Februarie...1570 (STC. 6699) in M. Dering's Workes (London, 1597): B.M. 3755 aa. 7, especially pp. 25-29.

5. J. Strype, Annals (Oxford, 1824), II, ii, 483-86; Collinson, p. 16.

parochial sinecurism. He attacked financial arrangements such as impropriations, sequestrations, and pensions reserved out of parochial revenues---which financial expedients reduced the value of benefices so much that most of them singly held could not support a learned preaching clergyman. Dering maintained that a minister who could no longer 'attende upon his flocke and feede them...with the foode of life' ought to be removed.¹

Yet Dering was not a presbyterian except probably in some of his ideas about exclusive spheres of jurisdiction for the secular and ecclesiastical authorities.² Much, perhaps most, of what he said in sermons, tracts and letters emphasized the positive aspects of the Christian faith and was designed simply to encourage his fellow Christians to go forward in godliness, to avoid immorality, and not to weary in well-doing. It would normally have pleased Parker to find that one of his incumbents and an erstwhile member of his household gave such careful attention to the spiritual well-being of the people. Parker wrote letters of encouragement etc. exactly as did Dering. But Dering's association with Field and his insistence upon speaking the truth as he saw it to whom he thought most needed to hear it were what got him into trouble.

Dering was of the opinion that if he saw one of his fellow Christians going astray it was his duty to warn him, and that if he saw that his country was drifting into danger it was his duty to point out to the rulers the causes of the nation's peril. '...I feare not', he wrote to Parker, 'to intymate my mynde

1. Dering, Sermon, p. 28.

2. Collinson, p. 25; cf. A.F. Scott Pearson, Church and State (Cambridge, 1928), p. 18 et passim.

unto you so often as anything happens which I suppose you ought to know',¹ and in 1569 he confronted the Queen with the rhetorical question:

'How sitte we here in safetie when all the world is on an uproare? And is this, thinke you, of our deseruing, or rather of God's mercie?'²

He went on to say that because England was momentarily out of danger she (England) ought not to become proud as had Babylon and think that she was indestructible and could survive without careful adherence to God's laws. If, in the midst of 'that pushing, self-seeking, and bootlicking [Elizabethan] society [puritanism] served a most necessary purpose',³ surely among the puritans Dering was a most indispensable non-bootlicker. He was the most outspoken of the Christian critics, that is, of the inflictors of 'wounds of love': he spoke of Elizabeth in a public sermon at which she was present as 'an untamed and unruly heifer',⁴ he wrote to lord Abergavenny that God had sufficient mercy to cover the sins of swine (before whom we ought not to throw pearls) and of dogs (who return to their vomit), and so he still had hope for Abergavenny in spite of his lordship's 'many thousand sinnes'.⁵ Cecil's wrath Dering incurred for similar letters---especially those letters about Cambridge. 'True it is', Dering wrote to his brother in something of a masterpiece of understatement, 'hee [Cecil] seemed not very well pleased.'⁶

Dering wrote similar strong letters to Parker in one of which, an analysis of Parker's administration, Dering urged Parker to refrain from 'frequent oathes' which he was wont to 'thunder oute' both in public and in private; and, furthermore

1. B.M. MS./Stowe/743, fo. 4.

2. Dering, Sermon.

3. G.R. Elton, England Under the Tudors (London, 1959), p. 291.

4. Dering, Sermon.

5. Maidstone MS./Dering/U/350/C/1/1.

6. Collinson, p. 18; Strype, op.cit., 483-86.

Dering wanted Parker to prevail upon his (Parker's) sons to be more modest in their dress. (The letter nonetheless revealed Dering's willingness to try the reformer's, rather than the revolutionary's, methods.)¹

'Godly wounds' or 'wounds of love' the protestants called such brotherly warnings and Parker was, in theory, in sympathy with that pastoral method. He wrote such letters upon occasion himself, spoke favourably of 'vulnera diligentis',² and recorded how violently people (including the Queen) reacted when, out of what he felt to be his duty as a Christian and a bishop, he pointed out to them failings of character or policy.³ The most important of such disputes was one between Parker and Sir Nicholas Bacon. Parker had checked his life-long friend for some misdemeanour (perhaps the misuse of his power as lord ~~keeper~~⁴ and of ecclesiastical patronage in Norfolk)⁵ and Bacon had reacted violently. Apparently Bacon had said, among other things, that Parker was not of his (Bacon's) social rank and that it was therefore impertinent for Parker to correct him. In one of his letters to lady Bacon asking her to do what she could to pacify Sir Nicholas, Parker stated his belief in the rightness of one Christian correcting another. 'I would be loth to break friendship with any mean body, much less with my lord', Parker wrote, but he would keep silent for neither king nor 'Caesar' if he felt it his duty to speak.⁶ If Bacon, he wrote,

'had been the prince of the realm, or I but his chaplain, I might have written privately, as I did. And where he findeth lack in me that I did so write, peradventure I might find some lack in him for not staying his displeasure till he had known what great cause I had to write, both in conscience and in good love of friendship. Madam, be not offended with my plainness, as though

1. Dering to Parker, B.M. MS./Stowe/743, fos. 4-11v.

2. Corresp., pp. 314-315.

3. Ibid., p. 439: 'It may be I am too sharp. Indeed I mean well (as the surgeon doth in administering his corrosive), and am not trained up in courtly eloquence, and I perceive the court is now [1573] altered from that I once knew it in. Well, God be merciful to us all that we may spend our lives to please him.'

4. Ibid., p. 315.

5. Ibid., pp. 309-16.

6. Ibid., p. 315.

I would make comparison with him. I know his office, I know his gifts of God, and his place, and yet may Matthew Parker write privately to Nicholas Bacon in matter of good friendship without offence.¹

While Parker thus believed that one Christian ought to correct another and that the clergyman ought not 'feare to reprove the sinner',² Parker was not as enthusiastic about the idea when he himself was the subject of brotherly reproof. Nor did he think it proper for Dering to undertake the re-awakening of the conscience of England's leadership. Dering declared, however, that he was a minister of God and 'sworne to speak the truth'.³

(vi) REFUGEE CONGREGATIONS.

Finally there was the matter of the refugee churches in Canterbury diocese and of their significance for diocesan non-conformity.⁴ Besides the refugees in Dover who were eventually to constitute the 'Dutch Church',⁵ refugee congregations were established at Sandwich in 1561⁶ and at Maidstone in 1567.⁷ Official permission was given in 1567 for the re-establishment of the refugee congregation at Canterbury (there had been one there in the reign of Edward VI), but apparently full advantage of this permission was not taken until the migration from Winchelsea in 1574 and 1575.⁸

The matter of the refugee congregations in the diocese of Canterbury was no hole-in-corner business. Parker was among those who had to help select families suitable for settlement in his diocese.⁹ The privy council¹⁰ and the town

1. Ibid., p. 310.

2. Quoted from Dering in Collinson, p. 12.

3. Ibid., p. 11.

4. The Register of the Wallon or Strangers' Church in Canterbury, ed. Robert Hovenden, The Huguenot Society of London, V, ii (1894); F.W. Cross, History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, XV (1898) are the two best works on the subject. Cf. J. Strype, Parker, III, 16-19.

5. Cross, op.cit., 23.

6. Ibid., 20; C.P.R. Eliz., II, 336.

7. Cross, 16-17; C.P.R. Eliz., IV, 39-40; P.R.O./S.P./12/43, fos. 46, 62.

8. Cross, 3-10, 15-18, 39-40, 62 ff.

9. C.P.R. Eliz., II, 336; Ibid., IV, 39-40.

10. APC., VII (1558-70), 336, 337, 346.

councils of both Canterbury and Maidstone had to sanction the establishment of the refugee settlements in those towns and grant them what amounted to a charter.¹ The active support of the refugees for the fighting continental protestants was the cause of at least one diplomatic crisis.² Then too, even though the refugees brought with them skills imperfectly practiced or not previously understood in Kent, there was the ever-present danger of the foreigners antagonizing indigenous artisans.³ Moreover, the refugees came to Canterbury diocese in relatively large numbers. In 1561 Parker, Grindal and Cobham certified that 406 refugees had been settled at Sandwich.⁴ Sixty families⁵ were established at Maidstone in 1567. In 1569, according to Parker's official return,⁶ there were 288 'pilgrims' at Maidstone. This group comprised, besides one minister, four deacons, and two schoolmasters, 145 men (including 15 servants, four very old men, six youths of under sixteen years of age and 54 boys) and 136 women (including 21 servants and 51 small girls). 'By 1568 there were 115 Dutch adults in the town living in forty-three family groups.'⁷ In 1569 there were 1,334 'pilgrims' at Sandwich. Boys and girls made up 655 of this number. Of the others, 657 were able-bodied men and women, nine were very old, two were ministers, eleven were deacons, and three were teachers.⁸ By 1582 there were 1,679 such strangers in the city of Canterbury and by 1600 there were 2,461.⁹

The refugees came from so many different places that most Europeans must have known that the exiles were in England. Flemish settlers in Maidstone came from

1. Cant. MS./'Burmore Book 1542-1578' (C), fo. 215; Cross, pp. 16-17.

2. Cross, p. 21.

3. Valerie Morant, 'The Settlement of Protestant refugees in Maidstone during the Sixteenth Century', *Econ. H.R.*, 2nd series, IV (1951), 210-214.

4. Cross, p. 14.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17; Morant, *op.cit.*, p. 212 stated that thirty were permitted to settle.

6. P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 210.

7. Morant, p. 212.

8. P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 210.

9. Cross, p. 36.

such towns as Orly, Nevelle, Deynse and Ghent,¹ and a sample group of 1,000 refugees living in England between 1590 and 1627 came from at least 240 different places on the continent. The majority of the refugees in Canterbury, however, came from Flanders and a line of towns, including Armentières, Cambrai, Lille, St. Amand, Tourconing and Valenciennes---the industrial and craft heart of the Spanish Netherlands.²

In secular matters the refugees were governed in much the same way as other people in Kent. They paid the same (secular) taxes and had the same military obligations. But in ecclesiastical matters, except that Parker had ultimate authority over them in case of grave trouble (they would probably have called him their 'superintendent'), they were genuinely independent. In their petition to the mayor and jurates of Canterbury in 1567 they asked, first of all, that, since they had left their 'native land and possessions for the love of religion (which they earnestly desire[d] to maintain with a free conscience)' they asked that 'free exercise of their own religion'³ be permitted them in Canterbury, and, in 1575, when another agreement was made between the city of Canterbury and the refugees it was stated, 'in primis', that they were to have 'full and free exercise of their religion as all other congregacions of this realme with a competent church for their assembly.'⁴ The refugee settlements

'were essentially congregations; and even their industrial organization was originally founded on an ecclesiastical basis, with ministers and elders as the heads and governors of the community. The privilege which was sought before all others was liberty to worship according to the doctrine and ritual of the reformed churches of France and the Netherlands, of which they were

1. Morant, p. 212.
2. Cross, p. 25.
3. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 27.
4. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 37.

emigrant branches. Each separate settlement of the strangers constituted in effect a small religious republic modelled after that of Geneva, but with certain modifications of the more severe system of Calvin. The government of the Churches of Refuge in England was based on the Discipline drawn up by John A. Lasco, as Superintendent under the charter of Edward VI....The doctrine of the Walloon Churches both in the Netherlands and in England was defined in the 'Confession of Faith' which was compiled by Guy de Brès, one of the martyred pastors of Valenciennes, and Hadrian de Saravia. It was approved by Calvin and Beza and was first printed in 1561; in 1565 it was presented by Saravia to William of Orange as the Confession of the Netherlands Churches.¹

The refugee congregations at Canterbury, Dover, Sandwich and Maidstone had full power to christen, marry² and bury according to their own rites. The consistories settled their problems of ecclesiastical discipline and, for the most part, the congregations seem to have had their own testamentary jurisdiction though, at a little later date, some of the wills of the refugees were proven in the arch-diaconal, consistory, and even prerogative,³ courts. The will of 'Peter Vanden Walle, stranger' was proved in the Canterbury diocese consistory court in 1584,⁴ and that of Catherine du Moulin was similarly proved in 1626, though the 'politike men' also had some part.⁵ The congregations, at least sometimes, had their own schools and teachers⁶ and chose their own ministers.

Yet in spite of the importance of this group, Parker had remarkably few problems with the refugees. In 1572 he suspended 'Nicasius', the minister of the refugee church at Maidstone;⁷ Parker was involved in movement of refugees from Sandwich to Norwich;⁸ the refugees were provided with their own places of

1. Ibid., p. 37.

2. See the very interesting contract between Adrien de le Quellerie and Marie le Clerque in Hovenden, op.cit., II, 651.

3. Morant, p. 212 n. 4. Cf. Hovenden, op.cit., II, 733-39.

4. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/45, fo. 297v.

5. Maidstone MS./P.R.C./10/51, fo. 11. For the 'politike men' see Cross, op.cit., pp. 33-55.

6. Ibid., p. 15, et passim.

7. Ibid., pp. 16-17.

8. Corresp., pp. 247-48, 255-56.

worship---St. Clement's at Sandwich, the cathedral undercroft at Canterbury and, at Maidstone, the medieval chapel of St. Faith's; once in a very long time one of the strangers would be named in one of the diocesan ecclesiastical courts. Beyond these few incidents, however, there seems to have been very little contact between the congregations and the episcopal machinery, and one of the few statements which Parker made about the refugees indicated that he was very much impressed with their sense of responsibility and their piety. In 1563 he wrote from his diocese of what he had observed of the refugees at Sandwich:

'The strangers there, being very godly in the Sabbath-day, and busy in their work on the week-day, and their quietness such as the mayor and his brethren have no causes of variances coming before them. As for other disorders reformable by ecclesiastical laws, I have before now deputed their minister (a grave learned man) to exercise (by mine authority) ecclesiastical censures, as he shall see cause, as hitherto little hath been spied.'¹

The members of these congregations must have been exceedingly well-behaved to have caused so little comment (aside from that raised by Dr. Gerrard Gosson)² about their religion and character. Beyond their unobstreperous behaviour, however, was the fact that, except for business and civic duties, they kept themselves isolated. Their political contacts were with other refugee churches, and on the social level, also, they kept themselves isolated: Parker was offended by the reluctance of the members of the London Dutch Church to intermarry with Englishmen.³ Perhaps because they so consistently stayed out of local ecclesiastical affairs, or perhaps because of the concept of variation of church government

1. Corresp., p. 189.
2. Cross, op.cit., pp. 63, 68-69.
3. Ibid., p. 31.

according to nationality, or for other reasons, the refugee churches in Canterbury did not, as they could have,¹ constitute a focus for diocesan non-conformity during the time that Parker was archbishop.

Actually, it was a triumph of the congregational ideal and of the ideal of the Elizabethan divines that the form of church government would of necessity vary and that every national group ought to have the right to determine the form of ecclesiastical government most suitable to its needs.² The measure of toleration that the refugees had found in Canterbury diocese ended with the growth of Stuart absolutism and/of the concept of the divine nature of episcopacy which culminated in Laud's act of uniformity of 1634. As a result of that act the foreigners had, for the most part, to flee (some to the Palatinate, some elsewhere) or else simply be absorbed. The loss of so many thousands of her most skilled people was also, incidentally, disastrous for the economy of Kent.³

1. P. Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London', Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, XX (1964), 528-555; H.G. Owen, 'A Nursery of Elizabethan Nonconformity, 1567-1572', JEH., XVII, no. 1 (April 1966), 65-76.
2. N. Sykes, Old Priest New Presbyter (Cambridge, 1957).
3. Morant, op.cit., p. 214.

CHAPTER VIII

TEMPORALITIES AND DIOCESAN ADMINISTRATION.

Parker held his temporalities in his capacity as archbishop. He was like all of the bishops in that they held their temporalities as 'barons and lords of parliament'¹ rather than as clergymen. The revenues from these properties are to be contrasted with the spiritualities, that is, with the 'property or revenue held or received in return' for such 'spiritual services' as visitation, presentations to benefices, institutions into benefices, ordinations and services as ecclesiastical judges.² Nevertheless some attention must be given to the size of Parker's revenues and to the administration of his temporalities if one is to form a balanced picture of him in his capacity as 'bishop'. For one thing it was part of the task of every bishop to administer the properties of his see and many of Parker's properties (and 'liberties') lay within the boundaries of the diocese of Canterbury. Secondly, the wealth of the episcopate was a live political issue,³ and the Queen's policies towards the properties of the bishops had an important affect upon the administration of the diocese of Canterbury. Thirdly, some of the men involved in the administration of the Canterbury

1. A Law Dictionary, ed. G. Jacob (London, 1772), sub 'temporality'; cf. O.E.D. sub 'temporality'.

2. Jacob, sub 'spirituality'.

3. C. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church (Oxford, 1956), pp. passim. See also F.R.H. du Boulay, 'A Rentier Economy In the Later Middle Ages: the Archbishopric of Canterbury', Econ. H.R., second series, XV (1963), 427-38.

temporalities were influential people within the diocese of Canterbury, and played important parts in its administration. Fourthly, as was the case with the first Elizabethan bishop of Bath and Wells, on Parker's 'standing as a local landlord depended much of his social and political prestige.'¹

Parker was well aware of the hostility towards 'lordly' bishops---towards bishops who were great landlords and judges. For example, in 1563 he wrote William Cecil saying that he doubted 'in these days whether bishops may be thought worthy to eat venison', the meat of a noble, and would, if necessary, make do with beef, 'make merry therewith, and pray for all my benefactors'. He asked Cecil to 'pardon importune beggars' and to get him a couple of bucks if he could.² Later that year Dudley sent Parker a fat stag and was careful to tell Parker that the Queen had killed the animal with her own hand.³ Parker received letters, such as that from Sampson in 1574, which reflected some of the prevailing criticism of episcopal 'lordliness':

'You say', Sampson wrote, 'that you are not lordly, [and] that you doe not sett [any store] by that lordly state. I did not charge you with it, but since you do so say yourself, I will ad this that I trust you have learned a better lesson then [sic] the comon sort of men haue. For as the maner is nowe, the prowde man will saye that he is not prowde, and the covetous man will saye that he setteth not by mony. I doe hope you saye of yourself as you are....And if you whome policie hathe made a great lorde, be not lordlie but doe kepe the humble and streit course of a loving brother and minister of Christe's gospell shall I saye that you are a phoenix.'⁴

1. P.M. Hembry, 'The Bishops of Bath and Wells, 1535-1647: A Social and Economic Study' (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1956), p. 178.
2. Corresp., pp. 177-178.
3. Ibid., pp. 190-191.
4. Inner Temple MS./Pettyt/538/47, fo. 336.

Thus, the debate which was raging all over Europe about whether a bishop should be a great lord or a stipended superintendent and preacher touched Parker very closely, and in spite of such things as gifts of venison killed by the royal hand Parker was uncertain about whether or not the Queen supported the idea that bishops should live as nobles.¹

The debate over whether or not a bishop should live as a great lord was intimately connected with episcopal revenues and properties. Without his gross income of over £3,000 per annum, Parker could in no way have maintained himself 'according to his degree': that is, in the way that he, and his Queen, thought he ought. That income was the economic base of his social position. Without it he could not have maintained the household of a Renaissance magnate with all of its attendant literary patronage and facilities for scholarship and publishing. He could not have kept 'down lieng and uprising' in his house his 100 liveried servants.² Nor could he have performed those lordly state functions such as acting as principal witness to the elevation of a knight to the peerage,³ and entertaining, both at Croydon and in Kent, the Queen and dozens of her retinue.⁴ He could not have appeared on the annual roll of those who gave to the Queen, and received from her, expensive New Year's Gifts.⁵ Without such an income it seems hard to imagine him continuing

1. Corresp., p. 418. Cf. F.R.H. du Boulay, 'The Archbishop As Territorial Magnate', in Mediaeval Records of the Archbishops of Canterbury (London, 1962), p. 68; J.E. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons (London, 1954) p. 62 regarding the retinue of Rutland.

2. Corresp., pp. 175-76; Bodleian MS./Tanner/127, fo. 46.

3. C.P.R. Eliz., III (1566-67), p.119.

4. B.M. MS./Addit./4160, fo. 67.

5. B.M. MS./Addit./9772.

to hold first place after the Queen in the social hierarchy, and in the precedence lists, of Tudor England.¹ Nor could he have departed this world with perhaps more splendour than he lived in it. He left bequests to the rich and powerful,² and in his house were books, plate, portraits and household furnishings that revealed the taste of a connoisseur whose closest friends were the mightiest in the land.³ His funeral procession of 395 people, including fifty-two gentlemen mourners, eight chaplains, five bishops and the country's leading judges,⁴ was larger and more splendid than lord keeper Bacon's was to be four years later.⁵

Parker's social position, naturally enough, affected the way in which he conducted himself in his diocese, and the attitude of the local people towards him. When he conducted a visitation or service in the cathedral it was with lordly ceremony.⁶ Even when, in the early years of his administration, he tried to travel quietly about his diocese he found it nearly impossible; people insisted upon receiving him with fanfare and ceremony.⁷ Soon he began to expect such ceremony as his right and would probably have been offended had he not been so treated. When he rebuilt Canterbury palace in 1565 he held such feasts for the local gentry and judges of assize as had seldom been seen in the county. Judge John Southcote

1. C.C.C.C. MS./114, fo. 109.

2. P.C.C./1575/39 Rych. Transcribed in J. Strype, Parker, III (Oxford, 1821), 333ff.

3. 'Copy of the Inventory of Archbishop Parker's Goods at the Time of his Death', ed. William Sandys, Archaeologia, XXX (1844), 1-30.

4. B.M. MS./Lands/21, fos. 7-9.

5. A. Simpson, The Wealth of the Gentry (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 22-27.

6. Reg., pp. 537ff.

7. Corresp., passim.

of the court of common pleas, attorney general Gilbert Gerrard, sheriff Thomas Kempe, and many others were at the first two-day feast.¹ In 1573, when the Queen visited Canterbury, Parker was her principal host.²

(1) THE EXCHANGE OF LANDS, 1559.

Elizabeth's first Parliament passed legislation empowering the crown to take lands from the bishoprics and to give them, in return impropriated tithes and rectories and the so-called clerical tenths.³ In the summer of 1559 and winter of 1560 the bishops-elect fought hard to prevent this legislation from coming into effect, but the bishops were forced to capitulate,⁴ and Canterbury was among the sees immediately effected.⁵ By 13 December, 1559, it had been decided, on the basis of a report by a special commission,⁶ to take from the archbishopric of Canterbury thirty-two pieces of demesne lands, advowsons and manors in Kent, Sussex and Shropshire. The total annual value of these properties was put at £1,381 10s 5d.⁷

1. The Life off the 70. Archbishopp of Canterburie... (Heidelberg, 1574), unpaginated.

2. Corresp., pp. 474-476.

3. I Eliz., c. 19, in SR, IV, 381-382

4. Inner Temple MS./Petyt/538/52, fo. 49; Strype, op. cit. III, 12-16; Corresp., pp. 97-99, 101-102; R.W. Dixon, A History of the Church of England..., V, 188; Cal. S.P. Spanish (1558-1567), p. 50; C.S.P. Dom. Eliz. (1547-1580), p. 136; C.P.R. Eliz., I (1558-1560), 442; BM. MS./Edgerton/2,350, fo. 34. du Boulay, op. cit.; Wilkins, Concilia, IV, 198.

5. P.R.O./S.C./11/856.

6. Ibid.,

7. C.P.R. Eliz., I (1558-1560), 440-442. Cf. APC (1558-70), p. 28. C.P.R. Eliz., I (1558-1560), 453; ibid., II (1560-1563), 191-198.

Parker was able to delay for a few months the completion of the exchange,¹ but by the time that the transaction was complete in July, 1560, the Queen had taken from the archbishopric lands and advowsons worth £1,283 13s 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d per annum.² Apparently Parker had been able to save, within the county of Kent, the manors of Blackose, River, Lector and Crosewood, and the properties of the former priory of Billesden; these pieces of land the Queen had originally intended to take from the see.³ Sussex manors and lands worth £211 2-3/4d and Shropshire properties worth £27 14s were taken from the see, but by far the most property taken away, that is, £1,084 11s 4-3/4d worth, lay in the county of Kent.⁴ Twenty-five pieces of property within the county of Kent were taken from the archbishopric. Most of these properties lay within the boundaries of the diocese of Canterbury,⁵ although Parker also surrendered, after considerable resistance, the advowson of the rectory of Penshurst, Rochester diocese.⁶

One of the effects of this exchange was to reduce the revenues to Parker from the archiepiscopal properties within the diocese of Canterbury.⁷ A more important consideration, however, was that the properties taken from the see were valued at their nominal, that is, taxable, annual value,⁸ while what was given in return was valued at its actual value. The nominal value of the manors and other properties taken from Parker was less than the actual value because, besides the rents, Parker would have drawn from the manors such things as food, fuel, and the revenues of manorial courts---

1. APC (1558-70), p. 28; C.P.R. Eliz., I (1558-60), 453; ibid. (1560-63), 191-98.

2. P.R.O./S.C./11/856; Cambridge University Library MS./Baker/Mm 142, fo. 325.

3. Compare C.P.R. Eliz., I (1558-60), 440-42 with P.R.O./S.C./11/856.

4. There was in addition £1 7s 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d for Penshurst advowson.

5. See references given in note 3.

6. Cant. MS./Reg. V³ (1567-69), fos. 17-19. Parker received Crayford advowson.

7. F.R.H. du Boulay, 'Archbishop Cranmer and the Canterbury Temporalities', EHR., LXVII (1952), p. 36.

8. Corresp., p.101.

commodities which impropriated rectories did not yield.¹ Parker was given in return clerical tenths, and the rents of impropriated rectories, the actual value of which was equal to the nominal value of the *manors* and hence, in fact, they were worth less than the manors.

Although Parker still owned manors like that of Bekesbourne,² the exchange greatly reduced his importance as a Kent landlord. He was the lord of far fewer men, and the parson of far more rectories. A comparison of the revenues from one of the manors which still possessed with the revenues of one of the impropriated rectories given him in the exchange reveals the importance of this transition from landlord to parson. He still owned the manor of Reculver, Kent. For the year Michaelmas, 1560, to Michaelmas, 1561, tenants on that manor paid Parker's collectors £48 10s 9-3/4d in rents of assise, £7 9s 4d in customary rents, and £9 7s 7d in court fines. He also got 6s 8d for escheated lands and from various other small items of income. These were the revenues of a typical feudal lord. There was nothing particularly ecclesiastical about the property, and the relationship between the archbishop and those who paid him the rents was that of lord and tenant, not that of curate of souls and parishoners. This lordship of the archbishop over men had been the underlying cause of medieval riots,³ and was to be a vexed political and social issue for many years to come.

The importance of this reduction in feudal power by the loss of a dozen

1. Parker actually held court on those manors he still possessed (Lambeth MS./C.R./1166, 1167).

2. Ibid.

3. Lambeth MS./C.R./1378, sub Reculver; du Boulay, Mediaeval Records of the Archbishops of Canterbury, p. 68.

or more manors within the diocese is more clearly revealed by an examination of the nature of the revenues that Parker received in return. To begin with there were the impropriated tithes, 'pensions, and portions' of an annual net value (within the diocese of Canterbury) of £357 15s 11½d.¹ The nature of the revenues of Folkestone parish church, one of those Parker received in the exchange, is typical of the revenues of all of the impropriated rectories that he received.

Until its dissolution in 1535, Folkestone priory had received the impropriated tithes and other revenues of Folkestone rectory. From 1535 until 1552 the properties of the dissolved house, including the revenues of Folkestone^e rectory, were in the possession of Edward Lord Clinton.² At the opening of Elizabeth's reign at least some of the Folkestone properties were in the crown's possession, and hence the Queen was able to grant to Parker the impropriated tithes and revenues of the rectory as part of what she gave in return for his manors. Parker was to receive from the rectory exactly what Clinton had received.³

The gross annual income of Folkestone rectory was calculated at the time of the exchange at £57 2s 11d, and in fact for the first year of his tenure, Michaelmas, 1560, to Michaelmas, 1561, Parker's receiver accounted for

1. This net revenue remained after such items as vicars' wages, archdeacon's procurations, etc. had been paid (P.R.O./S.C./11/856).
2. VCH., Kent, II, 237; C.P.R. Eliz., II (1560-63), 192; Lambeth MS./C.R./ 1378, sub Folkestone.
3. P.R.O./S.C./11/856.

exactly that amount.¹ Although the composition of the revenues of this typical impropriated rectory was so complex as to be defiant of simple description, the essential fact was that, whereas Parker had no tenants on this piece of property, on the manors which he still possessed he did have tenants. The tenants of his former manors had become tenants of the crown rather than of the archbishop---an interesting detail of the ways used by the Tudors to reduce the 'political' power of the great nobles, and to increase crown control over the humble populace.

Not only had the archbishop lost the overlordship of many men, but he had also been saddled with additional ecclesiastical responsibilities. Out of the gross annual income of £57 2s 11d from the rectory of Folkestone Parker (or his farmer) as 'parson' was responsible for the upkeep of the chancel, for the £10 per annum pension to the vicar, for the 26s 8d per annum wage to the parish clerk, for the £3 per annum payment to a pensioned clergyman and for the 14s 6d annual archdiaconal procurations and synodals.² These payments had formerly been the responsibility of the crown as 'parson'; they had become by the exchange the responsibility of the archbishop. In the exchange the Queen had made grants by which twenty-eight other churches and chapels within the diocese had been similarly effected,³ and the net result was that Parker had far fewer tenants and assumed from the crown the responsibility for paying more ecclesiastical personnel, and for the upkeep of the chancels of the twenty-eight churches.

1. C.P.R. Eliz., II (1560-63), 192; Lambeth MS./C.R./1401, sub Folkestone; cf. Lambeth MS./C.R./1378. This figure does not include arrears collected for the preceding year.

2. C.P.R. Eliz., II (1560-63), 192; Lambeth MS./C.R./1378.

3. Hernehill, Leedes, Bredger, Selling, Marden, Graveney, Sittingbourne, Crop-hill, Hawkehurst, Lydd, Kennington, Wye, Whitstable, Tilmanston, St. John's - in-Thanet, Walham, East Sutton, Nonnington, Wymmingswold, Eastwell, Maidstone, and the chapels of Loose, Detling, Overland, Ash, Richborough, Bromfield and Challock (P.R.O./S.C./11/856; C.P.R. Eliz., II (1560-63), 192-93).

Not only were the impropriated rectories administratively more cumbersome and financially less lucrative than the manors which Parker had lost, but his possession of so many of these impropriated rectories made him very vulnerable when the reasons for clerical pluralism and non-residence were discussed. Pluralism would not have been necessary if, for example, the Folkestone clergyman had received the £57 2s 11d rent (plus whatever profit the farmer made) instead of the mere £10 a year stipend. Thus, whenever reformers attacked the impropriations system they were, in fact, attacking the economic situation which was at the root of much of the clerical non-residence and pluralism, and they were also attacking one of the most important financial bases of the social position of Parker and many like him.

The second way in which the Queen recompensed Parker for the manors which she took away was by granting him the £478 15s 7½d which was normally due to her in annual tenths from the clergy of the diocese of Canterbury.¹ The Queen also granted Parker £447 9s 2½d in rents 'nomine decime', that is, rents which had been specially reserved to the crown from ecclesiastical properties.² The amount of both of these kinds of revenue was fixed. Neither the rents 'nomine decime' nor the clerical tenths could be 'improved' in the way that the rents of a manor could be; nor did such cash revenues produce the concomitant revenues in kind that manors yielded. Thus, the archbishop was put onto a fixed income in a period of inflation whereas the manors taken from him did, to some extent, rise in value with inflation. Moreover, Parker's collector was saddled with the unpleasant task of

1. See below p. 352.

2. P.R.O./S.C./11/856.

collecting the clerical tenths from the rectors and vicars of the diocese. Whereas formerly the crown would have been the object of any criticism for exacting these dues from poor parochial clergymen, after the exchange such criticism would be directed at Parker---an interesting example of the way in which the Queen channelled hostile criticism away from herself and onto the church.

(ii) COLLECTING AND EXPENDING TEMPORAL REVENUES.

Parker himself, or else the man whom he appointed as his receiver general, reformed the system of accounting for the revenues of the see. Until Peter Mershe, gent., took over as receiver general in 1560, so-called 'ministers' accounts' had been kept for each bailiwick of the archbishopric.¹ Beginning with the year Michaelmas, 1560 to Michaelmas, 1561, Mershe abandoned the separate accounts for each bailiwick and put all of the 'ministers' accounts' on a single roll. From the enrolled ministers' accounts Mershe drew up a highly condensed and very comprehensible 'receiver general's account'. An almost continuous series of the ministers' accounts from 1560 until 1609 survives.² The receiver general's accounts are almost as continuous except that they terminate in 1597.³

The receiver general's account seems to have been a particular creation of Peter Mershe; at least, as a class of record it died with him in 1597.⁴ Mershe was a younger contemporary of Parker at Cambridge. He entered the University in 1534, took his B.A. and M.A., and was a fellow of his college, Kings⁹, from 1547 until 1555.⁵ Presumably he went into retirement or hiding

1. S.A. Moore and R.E.G. Kirk, 'Calender of Court Rolls and other Documents at Lambeth' (MS. in Lambeth Palace Library, 1880). du Boulay, 'Cranmer's Temporalities', pp. 24, 29. Neither Moore and Kirk, nor du Boulay, connected the change in the administrative system with the appointment of Parker or Mershe.

2. Lambeth MS./C.R./1378-1400.

3. Lambeth MS./C.R./1401-1426.

4. P.C.C./1597/109 Cobham.

5. Venn, AC., I, iii, 145, sub 'Marsh'. Mershe (as he spelled his name) was Parker's receiver general not, pace Venn, his steward.

during the reign of Mary.¹ Parker gave him a life patent to the receivership at an annual wage of £20, and he continued to exercise the office until he died. In 1567 he was 'of Croydon, esq.'; Croydon was the site of an archiepiscopal manor.² He was one of those careful record keepers, like principal registrar John Incent, selected by Parker to keep his official records. Mershe's series of receiver's accounts must rank among the best surviving sets of Elizabethan estate documents.

Six classes of revenue, all or part of which were collected within the diocese of Canterbury, came from Parker's temporal possessions. These were the revenues from the liberty of the archbishopric, from Parker's manorial courts, from his manors, from the impropriated rectories, from the clerical tenths and from the rents reserved 'nomine decime'. The latter four classes of revenue were the particular concern of Peter Mershe. The reeves, bailiffs, keepers of woods, etc., accounted to Mershe for the income of the particular manorial property under their care and would turn over to him the rents and other perquisites accruing from these properties and payable to the archbishop. Mershe would then give them a receipt.³ The same was true of the farmers of the impropriated rectories. They would pay Mershe their annual rent, account to him for payments to vicars, upkeep of the parochial properties, and so forth, and Mershe, if he were satisfied with their account, would give them a receipt. This was the first stage of the accounting. The second stage was the drawing up of the general ministers' account---a single large roll. On it were entered the details of the accounts of the individual

1. He was not mentioned in H.M. Garrett, The Marian Exiles (Cambridge, 1938).
2. Cant. MS./Reg. V² (1567-69), p. 16. C.F. du Boulay, Lambeth Lectures, p. 66 note.
3. Lambeth MS./C.R. 1384. This is an unique file.

reeves, bailiffs, farmers, etc. Thirdly, Mershe drew up his receiver general's account from the general ministers' account. Then he took the record from Canterbury to Lambeth.

This accounting, and probably also a good deal of the actual collecting from farmers, reeves, bailiffs, keepers of woods, and other local officers, was done sometime after Michaelmas¹ in the archbishop's palace at Canterbury. Parker would send Mershe and his auditor from Lambeth to Canterbury to draw up the account. Parker paid their expenses.² He also paid the expenses of Thomas Parker, esq., the surveyor of his lands, and George Higham, gent., his deputy, who had to travel to Canterbury, stay there six days, and then travel to Lambeth.³ The accounting at Canterbury for the first year of Parker's administration took eight days.⁴ One imagines that there must have been a considerable concourse of reeves, bailiffs, farmers of rectorial tithes and others in the city during those days. There must also have been a considerable amount of work done by Mershe and his assistants: eight days was not a very long time in which to make up such a complicated account for revenues exceeding £4,000.

Examination of the details of the received general's accounts reveals some of the ways in which the administration of Parker's temporalities touched the life of his diocese. Mershe recorded first the income from arrears, rents and manorial dues. The gross income fluctuated from around

1. In 1561 it seems to have been done early in December. Lambeth MS./C.R./1401

2. In 1561 the expenses of the receiver general, the auditor, their clerk, servants and horses, totalled £17 14s 8½d. Ibid.

3. The account lumped together a payment of £13 11s 1d to Thomas Parker, George Higham, Mershe and auditor Thomas Wyseman. Whatever part of this went to Mershe and Wyseman was over and above the £17 14s 8½d noted above. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

£4,000 to around £2,000 during the first years of Parker's administration because of such factors as the collection of arrears, but from 1566 onwards it levelled out at about £2,800.¹ Out of this income came, to begin with, the fees to the officials. Mershe himself received £20 every year in addition to expenses and, as is noted below, sometimes also a bonus.² Auditor Thomas Wyseman, gent., received £15 per year. Henry Pynyage, gent., received £33 12s 6d as steward of the Canterbury diocese manors of Wingham, Reculver and Chistlet. William Roper, esq., received £3 2s 6d as steward of the manors of Gillingham (Rochester diocese) and Boughton, and Ralph Morryce, the man who had been Cranmer's secretary,³ received £5 4s 7d as keeper of Beakesbourne manor and liberty. One Alexander Fetherstone received £5 12s 10d as keeper of Canterbury palace and a wood called Southbishopsden, and John Twyne, the headmaster of King's School, Canterbury, received £1 as keeper of a wood called Pynewood. Other keepers of woods within the diocese of Canterbury who drew their annual wage in 1561 were Stephen Warren, 21s 3d for Northbishopsden wood; William Percy, £3 2s for the keepership of Buckholt woods; and Richard Mockett, £3 10d as keeper of Longbeach woods. One Nicholas Monkton was paid £3 10s as keeper of Ford Park. In addition, Parker paid out, for the year ending Michaelmas, 1561, a total of £12 11s 3d to Sir Richard Sackville, Thomas Bryght, gent., and one John Thrope in connection with the care of his (Parker's) Surrey properties.

In 1561 Mershe also accounted for £10 5s paid out in annuities and

1. These figures were taken from Lambeth MS./C.R./1401-1410. They do not represent the full income of the archbishopric: merely that from the temporalities.

2. Unless otherwise stated, these figures were taken from Lambeth MS./C.R./1401.

3. Narratives of the...Reformation, ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Soc. Publications (1860), 234-278.

specially reserved rents. Parker was more fortunate than bishop Berkeley of Bath and Wells in that he came to a see in which his (Parker's) predecessors and the crown had created so few annuities out of the endowment of the see.¹ Mershe next recorded the outlay of £160 for the annual pension to the Canterbury hospitals of St. John's and Harbaldowne, £2 in procurations to the archdeacon of Canterbury for 16 of the churches and chapels of which Parker was parson, and £62 13s 4d in salaries, pensions and stipends to the vicars and curates of 18 churches and chapels within the diocese of Canterbury---a total of £250 3s 4d.² In addition to this, Peter Mershe recorded a 10s payment to one William Mershe, the curate of St. Laurence-in-Thamet, as part of a 40s per annum payment given and conceded 'sibi ex benevolentia reverendissimi in augmenta vadiis sive salario sui'.³

In the first year of his administration of the temporalities of the see Parker paid some of his officers 'regarda' or rewards in addition to their regular fees and salaries. These special rewards totalled £13 4s 4d in value. Mershe himself got a supplementary fee of £6 13s 4d, plus, it seems, £9 as the result of a successful lawsuit. A reward of 40s for the year was also given 'ex benevolentia domini' to William Pensax, keeper of Westgate gaol in the city of Canterbury.³ Parker also gave a total

1. Hembry, op.cit., p. 185.

2. This figure did not include £2 which was usually paid the vicar of Waltham and Maidstone chaplain, because it was not paid in 1560-61. This figure did not include the £22 salary which Parker paid the vicar of Rochdale, Lancashire. Cf. Rev. Raines and H.H. Howarth, The Vicars of Rochdale, part i, Chetham Society (1883), pp. 42-68 (Richard Midgeley was vicar from 1561 to 1595).

3. It is not clear why this payment was 'ex benevolentia', because Parker regularly paid 40s to the Canterbury gaoler (Lambeth MS./C.R./1408, sub fees and annuities). 'Regardum' has been translated 'reward'.

of £4 11s in rewards to the widow of Thomas Bisshop, quondam keeper of Croydon park, and to crown officials John Hanbye, esq., John Thompson, esq., and his clerk Edward Fetyplace for work that these men had done in connection with the transfer of lands from the archbishopric and in obtaining an exemption for certain payments due the crown.¹

In 1561 Parker paid William Pensax 10s for the expenses of keeping two prisoners in the Westgate prison; he also paid out £4 16s 2d for the expenses of men and horses who handled the wood he had to sell. In the same year 29s 10d also went for legal counsel and to pay the men who took legal possession of Ford and Beakesbourne manors for him.

During the period of his administration Parker spent at least £1,354 19s 10d on repairs, upkeep, and re^l-building of the properties of his see. The most part of this money, £1,071 8s 1½d, was spent within the diocese of Canterbury. To begin with, although responsibility for the upkeep of the chancels of the churches of which Parker was parson was usually delegated to the farmer, Parker did do some rebuilding. In 1564 he spent £37 17s 6d repairing the chancels of the churches of Maidstone, Loose, Detling, Sittingbourne, Whitstable, Nonnington, Wymmingswold, River, Alkeham, Sibertswold, Lydden, Kennington, Walmer and Lydd,² and in 1571 he spent £3 6s 6d for repairs to Graveney.³ Parker seems, however, to have preferred to spend his money on buildings of an order more splendid than that of a simple parish church. He had heard of the manner in which, under Henry VIII, kings and ambassadors had been entertained at Canterbury palace and he

1. These were not bribes but gratuities to officials who worked for him. Parker received in return only that which was his due.

2. Lambeth MS./C.R./1403.

3. Lambeth MS./C.R./1408.

wished to restore the palace, badly burned in Cranmer's time, to its former splendour.¹ He spent at least £940 19s 3d on the palace during the period of his administration, £920 15s 6d of which went in the great rebuilding programme of 1563-1565.² During the period of his administration Parker also spent at least £66 14s 9½d on repairs to, and upkeep of, Beakesbourne manor house and properties, £11 16s 10d on Ford manor house and the adjacent woods, £10 10s 5d on the upkeep of Chislet marsh, and 3s 4d on Pynewood---all of which were in the diocese of Canterbury.³

(iii) PRESERVATION OF THE ENDOWMENT.

In some ways Parker's use of the temporal possessions of his see was considerably more honest than that of his contemporaries. He had several hundred, perhaps over a thousand, acres of woodland within the diocese of Canterbury.⁴ Parker could have made a good deal of money by the wholesale exploitation of his woods, but as far as the account rolls of his see and his correspondence show he did not waste his woods. In the year 1565-1566 w the woodward of Langbeach wood, Wyatt Wilde, gent., sold £36 9s 4d worth of wood for Parker, and, although this caused trouble, it is the only recorded instance of other than normal cropping.⁵ Parker did not, however,

1. The Life of the 70. Archbishopp, unpaginated.

2. Lambeth MS./C.R./1401, 1402, 1403, 1405 and 1408.

3. He also spent at least £185 12s 10½d on Lambeth, £56 15s 7d on Croydon, and £41 13s 3d on Selhurst house, all of which were in Surrey (Lambeth MS./C.R./1401, 1402, 1403, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1410).

4. Hembry, p. ii; Lambeth MS./737, fo. 33v.

5. Lambeth MS./C.R./1401; Corresp., p. 372. Court rolls do not survive for four years of Parker's administration. It is possible that he did some extraordinary wood cutting during those years. The argument presented here is based on the evidence so far discovered.

hesitate to use the properties of his see for the benefit of his family and friends. For example, on October 1, 1568 he made his servant Christopher Reynolds life keeper of the mansions and gardens at Beakesbourne, three miles outside Canterbury,¹ at an annual fee of £4 11s 4d.² He made his sons John and Matthew keepers, for life, of Canterbury palace, the adjoining properties and certain woods. They were to get the same fees and emoluments as their predecessor Alexander Fetherstone had received and 2d a day in wages.³ On 24 November, 1561, he granted to Robert Alcock of the city of Canterbury, gent., the keepership of 'Pynewood' in Littlebourne, Canterbury diocese, as well as the stewardship of the manor court there. Alcock was to pay 20s a year rent and, providing he took proper care of the woods, was to have the office for life.⁴ Such keeperships were not, in themselves, vastly lucrative, but many of the most wealthy of Elizabeth's subjects created and maintained their fortunes by the accumulation of many such offices.

By 1572 Parker's son John, who was generally of an avaricious and ruthless character,⁵ was deeply involved, both as joint surveyor of the properties of the see and as acting paymaster, in the administration of his father's estates.⁶ By this time also, Parker was employing as permanent legal counsel several of his close friends and men who took considerable part in other phases of diocesan administration. They included Roger Manwood, William Lovelace, William Fletewood, ~~privy councillor~~ Thomas Norton, Robert Alcock,

1. Cant. MS./Reg. V¹ (1553-1558), fos. 70v, 70 (in that order).

2. Lambeth MS./C.R./1408, sub fees and annuities.

3. Cant. MS./Reg. V³, fo. 116v. Cf. P.C.C./1574/13 Pyckering.

4. Cant. MS./'Registers Burnt and Fragmentary'.

5. Lambeth MS./C.R./1408-1411; P.R.O./Req./2/90/18; /Req./2(Mx.) /60/27; /Req./2/63/24; /Req./2/67/75; Cant. MS./Reg. V³, fos. 33v, 35; Bodleian MS./Tanner/127, fo. 47. Below, pp. 409-10.

6. Lambeth MS./C.R./1408, sub fees and annuities. One of the Harleston family was steward of Croydon and Lambeth by 1572. Parker's wife was a Harleston.

Matthew Crocherwood, ~~Lord Burghley~~, and various exchequer officials.¹

Whereas Parker made many such grants of stewardships, keeperships, and registrarships, he made relatively few leases of lands within the diocese. On 11 December, 1566, he granted to Miles Sandys, the exchequer official and nephew of the future archbishop of York, the reversion of the lease of Curleswood deer park in the lordship of Wingham.² On 17, February, 1570, Parker leased to his son Matthew for 21 years the manor of Boughton at a yearly rent of £40 3s 4d.³ In both of these transactions, Parker was providing for his family and friends, but the real question is why were there not more such leases.

Parker was honest enough to have felt some qualms about mortgaging the estates of his successors, and his experience in administering the lands and properties of Stoke and Corpus Christi before he ever came to the bishopric meant that he knew enough about administration not to be stampeded, as was Cranmer, into granting long leases as protection of the Canterbury endowment from royal avarice.⁴ Then too, in 1559 Parliament passed an act forbidding leases of more than 21 years of episcopal lands. Parker was not above evasion of that statute; in 1567 he granted to Miles Sandys the reversion of a lease for 21 years at an annual rent of 21s. That meant that the property was leased until 1617---that is, 21 years after the date of expiry of the lease granted by Cranmer. The real reason Parker did not make more such long leases was that he had relatively few Kent lands available for leasing.⁵ Parker

1. Ibid.

2. Cant. MS./Reg. V² (1567-69), fos. 1, 4v.

3. Ibid., fos. 88, 89, 94. Cf. Hill, op.cit., pp. 14-38, et passim, regarding episcopal use of their lands.

4. du Boulay, 'Cranmer's Temporalities', p. 22.

5. Lambeth MS./C.R./1401.

reaped the harvest of Cranmer's policy of granting protective long leases.¹ For example, Cranmer had leased to Henry Bingham, gent., Curleswood park for 60 years at an annual rent of 20s. The lease would expire in 1596.²

Parker did not hesitate to grant away keeperships, offices and reversions to offices. (These are to be distinguished from leases of lands.) For example, in 1571, Parker granted John Kerbie, gent., the keepership of Buckholte woods in the diocese of Canterbury. The keepership had been held by William Goldwell and Thomas Fell. Kerbie was to pay an annual fee of £3 10s, and he and his successors swore not to alienate or sell any of the woods. That was a legitimate grant, but Parker included the clause that when Kerbie died his (Parker's) servant John Dillinge, yeoman, was to get the office on exactly the same terms as Kerbie. In other words, Parker granted the office, which was his property, and the reversion to the office, which reversion should have been the property of his successor.³ The very lucrative registrarships of the diocese and archbishopric were also granted away by Parker. These offices were not covered by the act which limited episcopal grants to 21 years, and Parker usually made the grants for life. In 1561, Parker granted Aldriche the reversion of the registrarship of the consistory court, an office to which Aldriche did not succeed until 1569. In 1569, Parker granted to Peter Iyly the younger, the reversion of the same registrarship. Parker did the same thing with archiepiscopal registrarships,⁴ thus increasing

1. Hembry, p. 11; du Boulay, p. 20.

2. Cant. MS./Reg. V² (1567-69), fos. 1, 4v. Cf. J. Strype, Annals I, i, 142-43. The act protecting the episcopal endowment, an act which Parker disliked, reflected the tremendous demand for land. In the late fifteenth century the archbishops sometimes found it difficult to lease their lands (du Boulay, 'Who were farming the English Domesnes at the End of the Middle Ages?', Econ. H.R., second series, XVII (1965), 444, et passim).

3. Cant. MS./Reg. V³, fo. 14 (MS. damaged).

4. Ibid., fos. 5v-6; Cant. MS./Reg. V¹ (1553-58), fos. 58, 59v; /Reg. V² (1567-69), fos. 28, 84; /'Registers Burnt and Fragmentary, Elizabeth'; above pp.

the difficulties of future archbishops. Such modest offices and leases were the rewards which Grindal and Whitgift would normally have had available for their servants, but since Parker had granted them away for so many years ahead they were no longer available.

Parker also leased reversions to diocesan~~s~~ advowsons to his servant John Whytney,¹ to the puritan Paul Wentworth, esq., and to Thomas Allen, gent.² Parker owned the advowsons to the first, fourth and sixth prebends in Canterbury cathedral.³ On 15 June, 1567, he granted to Peter Mershe the reversion of the advowson of the fourth prebend for the first and second ('prima et proxima') vacancies after the present lease had expired.⁴ Parker had already, it seems, granted to his chaplain John Bungey the advowson for the next two vacancies.⁵ Mershe or his heirs would have had the patronage of the two vacancies after that. Parker, however, seems to have revoked the grant to Mershe because three weeks later he made exactly the same grant to his (Parker's) half-brother John Baker, gent., of Lambeth.⁶

If these grants were honoured by Parker's successors, he had, in fact, determined who should hold the prebend for the next ninety years. That is, Bungey himself held the prebend from a few days before this grant of the

1. Cant. MSS./'Registers Burnt and Fragmentary, Elizabeth'.
2. /Reg. V² (1567-69), fo. 57. In 1567 Parker had granted to his son John, and to Thomas Colbye the next advowson of Merstham, Surrey, not within the diocese of Canterbury (/Reg. V¹ (1553-58), fo. 72).
3. Le Neve, Fasti, I, 46.
4. /Reg. V² (1567-69), fo. 16.
5. Ibid., fo. 16.
6. Ibid., fo. 5. This grant Parker made in spite of the fact that the earlier one had been confirmed by the dean and chapter. The reason for the change has not been found. On 27 October, 1572, Parker granted Baker a life annuity, apparently an outright gift of £13 6s 8d out of Lambeth manor. Baker was living in Cambridgeshire (/Reg. V³, fo. 34; V.J.K. Brook, Parker (Oxford, 1962), p.1).

reversion until 1595. If his heirs in fact made the next two presentments, they put in Charles Fotherby on 23 November, 1595 and William Hull on 12 December, 1604. The grant which Parker made to John Baker would then have come into effect. Baker's heirs would have appointed Samuel Byrde in 1618 and Henry Seller in 1624---the last man appointed to the prebend before Peter du Moulin in 1660.¹

With the exception of the stewardship of his liberty², mention has here been made of all temporal grants on record made by Parker and confirmed by the dean and chapter³ which affected the diocese of Canterbury. Thus, Parker's family, close personal friends, and servants were the recipients of a major part of the fruits he had to bestow. Such a practice was not in itself bad: Parker had as his personal friends many of the most reliable and honest men in the land. Moreover, he would have had the opportunity to judge, while at Cambridge, the abilities of people like Peter Mershe. He could, moreover, have been far more lavish in his grants of advowsons. Life grants of registrarships etc. were fair because they gave the holder security which he would not otherwise have had as one archbishop succeeded another. Nor could Parker be blamed if the people he appointed lived so long: prebendary Bungay, for example, until 1595; receiver general Peter Mershe until 1597; registrar Francis Aldrich until 1601; and John Boys, the steward of the archiepiscopal liberties, until 1617. What was unfair, however, was for Parker to grant the

1. Le Neve, I, 50. Unfortunately, Le Neve did not give the names of patrons.

2. Below, pp. 342-43.

3. Although some grants were recorded in cathedral registers which have since been destroyed, and although the surviving registers are in an appalling state of confusion, they do record, it would seem, about 75 per cent of the temporal grants made by Parker.

reversions of registrarships, leases and advowsons. Not only did such grants deprive Grindal, Whitgift and others of property, but it reduced their freedom to choose diocesan personnel and clergy of their own liking.

(iv) THE HIGH STEWARDSHIP OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S LIBERTIES.

One of the most important offices that Parker had at his disposal for granting was the high stewardship of the liberties of the archbishopric. Some of these liberties, both territorial and judicial, lay within the diocese of Canterbury. The office of steward was one for which the greatest of the Kent gentry sued.¹ It was held during Parker's administration by Nicholas Bacon, Roger Manwood and John Boys in succession. Bacon was made high steward of all the castles, manors, lands and tenements belonging to the archbishopric in Kent, Sussex and elsewhere in England.² The emphasis in this grant was on care of the lands.

The emphasis in Parker's grants to Bacon's successors was upon the care of the liberties of the see rather than upon the oversight of the lands, and that the nature of the office had somewhat altered was illustrated by the fact that Manwood and Boys were paid only 40s, not £40, a year. When Manwood was commissioned to succeed Bacon he was made steward of the archbishop's liberties in Christ Church, Canterbury and those appertaining to Canterbury palace.³ He was made steward of all archiepiscopal franchises, liberties, courts, privileges and temporal liberties, and of all fines, issues, amercements, wardships and marriages, casualties, profits and emoluments arising out of

1. C.C.C.C. MS./114B, fo. 741 (Thomas Wotton to Parker).

2. Cant. MS./Reg. V³, fos. 43-43v. Lambeth MS./C.R./1408, sub fees and annuities.

3. Cant. MS./Reg. V³, fos. 39-39v, 41v-42; DNB., sub Manwood.

the liberties of the archbishopric. He was to answer at the exchequer for all fees, fines, etc., due to and from the archbishop---a duty which the stewards did in fact perform.

Manwood was also responsible for collecting all goods, chattels, felons, shipwrecks, deodands, fines, issues and amercements which accrued to Parker in the right of his liberties. He was to exercise the office in person or by deputy during his lifetime. Parker stated specifically in his commission to Manwood that all the archiepiscopal officers, including his surveyor, auditor, receiver, bailiffs, reeves, ministers and tenants were to assist Manwood in the performance of his duties. Parker, however, reserved to himself the oversight of his own men and tenants.¹ Power, more than revenue, was the feature of the archiepiscopal liberties which Parker most valued. He was greatly interested, as the puritans were bold enough to say in print,² in consolidating and enlarging the prerogatives and liberties of his see.³ His rights within his liberties reflected more clearly than almost anything else his lordly status.

1. Cant. MS./Reg. V³, fos. 41v-42. See also *ibid.*, fos. 39-39v; Lambeth MSS. /C.R./101 (*temp.* Mary), 1407, 1408; Moore and Kirk regarding /C.R./101. Illegal gains could, apparently, be made from these stewardships (*Leycester's Commonwealth*, ed. F.J. Burgoyne (London, 1904) regarding Leicester's stewardship of the bishopric of London), but no evidence has been found that Bacon, Manwood or Boys made illegal profits out of their stewardships during Parker's administration.

2. *The Life of the 70. Archbishop of Canterbury...*, especially the 'preface' half way through the book.

3. *Corresp.*, pp. 285-86, 452; M. Parker and J. Joscelyn, *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae, et Privilegiis Ecclesiae Cantuariensis...* (London, 1572). A clear description of the boundaries of the archiepiscopal liberties during Parker's administration has not been found, but areas around the cathedral, Canterbury palace and some of his manors in Kent lay within the liberties (Cant. MS./Reg. V³, fos. 43-43v). H.M. Cam, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1944) had nothing about the liberties of the archbishopric of Canterbury, nor is there any reference to 'liberties' in the index to I. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, II (London, 1933). See Bodleian MS./Tanner/ 127, fo. 46 on Parker's sale of his private wardships.

CHAPTER IX

ROYAL TAXATION.

The royal taxation of his diocese was one of the larger concerns of archbishop Parker.¹ He had a minor role to play in the collection of first fruits. He was responsible for the collection of the clerical subsidies and tenths, and was concerned about the effect that royal taxes had upon the state of the churches and clergy in his diocese. Although the affairs of the diocese must not be confused in our minds with the affairs of the archbishopric, the taxation of Parker's own benefice, the archbishopric, must be studied in connection with the taxation of the diocese in order that the latter may be clearly understood. They were not separated in the royal records of taxation, nor were the peculiars distinguished from the diocese proper.

Taxation of the clergy during the time of Parker's administration took various forms including clerical subsidies voted by convocation and confirmed

1. On the subject of taxation of the clergy see P.R.O./S.P./12/110, fo. 86 (1576?); The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, ed. J. Ayre, PPS (Cambridge, 1842), p. 53; J.E. Neale, Elizabeth I and her Parliaments, I (1559-81) (London, 1953), p. 185; DNB, sub Sandys; T. Wilson, The State of England (1600), ed. F.J. Fisher (London, 1936), pp. 23, 38; F.R.H. du Boulay, 'Archbishop Cranmer and the Canterbury Temporalities', EHR, LXVII (1952), 36; P.M. Hembry, 'The Bishops of Bath and Wells, 1535-1647: A Social and Economic Study' (London University Ph.D. thesis, 1956), p. 178; F.C. Dietz, The Exchequer in Elizabeth's Reign (Northampton (Mass.), 1923); C. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church from Whitgift to the Long Parliament (Oxford, 1956), pp. 192-93.

by parliament, clerical first fruits automatically due from incumbents entering all but the smallest of benefices, clerical tenths, the supply^{of} armour in times of emergency, and contributions for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Amounts of taxes were based, for the most part, on the Valor Ecclesiasticus.

(i) FIRST FRUITS.

The restitution of first fruits and tenths to the crown was one of the first pieces of Elizabethan legislation.¹ First fruits comprised nine-tenths of the Valor evaluation of every major benefice. New incumbents had to pay first fruits within the first two years of their incumbency. All fruits accruing to the benefice from the time that a benefice fell vacant were to be the property of the new incumbent, and were to help him pay first fruits. This helps to account for the fact that vacated benefices often lay vacant for several months.

All or part of first fruits could be relaxed in the case of incumbents who died or were deprived of their benefices before they had held them for two full years, but there were no similar escape clauses for those who resigned.² In special circumstances exoneration from first fruits might be granted by the exchequer or the Queen.³ All vicarages not exceeding the

1. 1 Eliz. c. 4 (1559) in SR, IV, 359-364. See also, G.R. Elton, The Tudor Revolution in Government (Cambridge, 1960), pp. 194ff; G. Burnet, The History of the Reformation, ed. N. Pocock (Oxford, 1975), I, 258-59; II, 517-518, 608; Neale, I, 45-46.

2. But cf. Wilson, op.cit., p. 27.

3. John Levet was exonerated from paying the first fruits of Kennarton rectory because his promotion had been overridden by the Queen and he had lost the benefice before receiving any of the fruits (P.R.O./A.O. 1/1205/5, rot. 6, front (1562)). The executors of the wills of four other clergymen were exonerated from paying all or part of first fruits because the clergymen had died before they had held their benefices for two years. The deceased clergymen were William Powers, Richard Davison, John Reade and William Marsh---all of Canterbury diocese (P.R.O./A.O. 1/1205/6, rot. 6 front and back and rot. 7 (1563) and /A.O. 1/1206/14, rot. 3 back (1572). For special exoneration by the Queen see P.R.O./E.334/8, fos. 210-212 (Grindal and others); ibid., fos. 324-25 (Freke); ibid., fo. 223v (Sandys); ibid., fo. 346v (Robert Weston); /E.334/9, fo. 33 (Valentine Dale); ibid., fo. 41 (Alexander Kaye, B.D.).

yearly value of £10, all rectories of a yearly value not exceeding ten marks, all hospitals, schools and possessions employed for the maintenance of such institutions and for the provision of alms were to be exempt from the payment of first fruits.¹

First fruits were to be compounded for by the new incumbent at the exchequer office of first fruits and tenths. Parker, who had not yet been a member of the Lords when the bill of restitution was passed, had a small part to play in assisting the crown to collect the first fruits of incumbents in his diocese: he sent in regular certificates of changes of incumbents,² he provided the exchequer with additional information if needed,³ and sequestered the fruits of benefices⁴ if incumbents failed to pay. As soon as Thomas Godfrey, the remembrancer of first fruits, had the certificates the matter of collection was largely the concern of his office and of the individual incumbent---it was not something in which Parker was directly involved. By consulting the Valor Godfrey could determine which benefices within the diocese were liable for the payment of first fruits. The failure of an incumbent to pay all or part of his first fruits was not usually a matter which directly concerned Parker. In the event of failure to pay, Thomas Godfrey would send a warrant to the sheriff of the county in which

1. Regarding the meanings of 'vicarage' and 'rectory' see G. Jacob, A Law Dictionary, ninth edition (London, 1772); OED; R.A.R. Hartridge, A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1930).

2. Reg., pp. 386 et passim.

3. Reg., p. 430 (regarding Simon Clarke); ibid., p. 370, 452, 453, 1071; P.R.O./E./334/7, fo. 21; /A.O. 1/1205/6, rot. 7 front (regarding Read alias Townesley); Reg., p. 452 (regarding Edmund Allen); ibid., pp. 801, 820, 826, 525. Cf. P.R.O./A.O. 1/1205/6, rot. 6 front where the mayor and jurates of Sandwich provided Parker with information about William Powers, a local vicar.

4. Reg., pp. 271-72, 428, 452, 453.

the incumbent was normally resident.¹ These warrants provided for the extraction by any and every means of the amount of the debt from the goods of the incumbent. If the incumbent did not have the cash or goods to meet the debt, then he was to be arrested and brought before the exchequer on an appointed day. If the incumbent could not be found, then similar proceedings were initiated against the men he had named as sureties.

When the incumbent compounded with the office of first fruits he was required to produce two sureties. The sureties may have been paid a fee by the incumbent, but no evidence of the payment of such a fee has been found. Over half of the guarantors for Canterbury clergymen were London tradesmen or shopkeepers who probably made a business of underwriting the clerical promises to pay first fruits, and therefore their names reveal little about the incumbent. A somewhat smaller number of the guarantors of Canterbury clergymen were Kentish husbandmen, craftsmen, yeomen and gentlemen about the nature of whose interest in the incumbent one can only make an intelligent guess.² Sometimes members of the cleric's family underwrote his agreement to pay first fruits. On 2 May, 1567, for example, Peter Hendley compounded for the first fruits of Otham rectory. The patron of the benefice, Thomas Hendley, esq., was one of the men who stood surety

1. E.g., P.R.O./E. 347/2, parts 3 and 9; /E. 347/3, part 1. Sometimes the sheriff of a county other than Kent was involved in the collection of the arrears of a Canterbury clergyman (e.g., /E. 347/3, part 1, unnumbered document). Sometimes the sheriff of Kent was involved when residents of Kent held benefices as far away as Buckinghamshire (P.R.O./E. 347/2/3/'Kent'/document 627). Cf. /E. 347/2/2/'Dover'/ document 87 and R. Manning 'The Episcopate of Richard Curteys, Bishop of Chichester 1570-82' (Georgetown University Ph.D. thesis, 1960).

2. P.R.O./E. 334/7, 8 and 9

for Peter. The second guarantor was Walter Hendley of Cranbrook, gent.¹ When Richard Pillesworth compounded for the first fruits of Brookland vicarage in 1572, one of the guarantors was William Pillesworth, subdeacon of St. Paul's, London.² Several similar family connections can be traced including those of the Jacksons³ and of William Ackworth, one of the clergymen widely employed by Parker.⁴

Sometimes the names of the sureties give one a clue about how tightly-knit were the group of men who were determined to make the Elizabethan state work. For example, in 1559, William Day underwrote Edmund Guest's pledge to pay the first fruits for his archdeaconry of Canterbury. Day, who was probably the prominent protestant printer, gave as his place of residence the household of Sir William Cecil.⁵ In 1562 Walter Haddon of the Queen's 'household' stood surety for one William Farme who was compounding for the first fruits of Westwickham rectory.⁶ Among the members of Parker's household who stood surety for Canterbury clergymen were Walter Eyton, gent.,⁷ Thomas Allen, gent.,⁸ Robert Browne and John Kyrkby, yeomen,⁹ Hugh Fitzwilliam,¹⁰ Parker's registrar John Incent¹¹ and William Whytinge, Parker's attorney and collector.¹² Some of the clergymen for whom these

1. P.R.O./E. 334/8, fo. 109; Reg., pp. 428, 830.
2. P.R.O./E. 334/8, fo. 288.
3. P.R.O./E. 334/7, fo. 162.
4. P.R.O./E. 334/9, fo. 49.
5. P.R.O./E. 334/7, fo. 26v.
6. Ibid., fo. 144v.
7. Ibid., fo. 79v.
8. Ibid., fo. 193v.
9. P.R.O./E. 334/8, fo. 301v.
10. P.R.O./E. 334/7, fo. 83v.
11. Ibid., fo. 153 (for Robert Maxsted, vicar of Westwell).
12. Ibid., fo. 153.

members of Parker's household stood surety, for example, Parker's domestic chaplain Andrew Pearson, were themselves members of Parker's household.¹ Wherever they came from, however, one thing is certain about these guarantors: the act of underwriting a clergyman's promise to pay the first fruits of his benefice was no mere formality. The guarantors' goods and body were liable if the clergyman defaulted,² and, if the exchequer had doubts about the solvency of the sureties whom the clergyman presented, the exchequer could ask for an additional surety such as Sir Thomas Kempe,³ that is someone whose solvency was certain. Such men who signed 'for greater security' were every bit as liable as the clergyman and the sureties he had first presented.⁴

The exchequer had to work hard to get the first fruits, but the work was worthwhile. In slightly over a year after the first fruits had been restored to the crown the exchequer received compositions, i.e., promises to pay, from all England totalling £13,007 8s 1d. In 1561 compositions for first fruits for all England totalled £17,151 17s 10d, and for the remaining years during which Parker was archbishop compositions for all England averaged around £5,000 per year.⁵ Most of these were paid, or else exoneration from them granted, within a relatively short time. For example, by 1574 only £218 13s 4d remained outstanding⁶ from the more than thirteen

1. For Pearson see *ibid.*, fo. 83v and *Reg.*, p. 1216. Matthew Allen, a member of Parker's household and rector of Rocking in 1571, was probably related to the Thomas Allen of Parker's household who stood surety for the incumbent of Harbledown rectory in 1563 (P.R.O./E. 334/8, fo. 262; /E. 334/7, fo. 193v).

2. Hugh and William Darrell were among the few successful evaders (P.R.O./E. 347/2/3/'Kent'/document 257; *ibid.*, unnumbered document; /E. 347/3/1, unnumbered document; /E. 347/2/3/'Kent'/document 631; /E. 341/1, regarding Monckton and Chilham).

3. P.R.O./E. 334/8, fo. 290; B.M.MS./Harl./1759, fo. 418, *sub* Bonnington rectory.

4. P.R.O./E. 347/3/part 1/unnumbered document, regarding Henry Seathe of Ashford.

5. These figures were compiled from P.R.O./E. 334/7, 8 and 9 and from /A.O. 1/1207/16, rot. 7. front and following.

thousand pounds compounded for during the first year after restitution. An account made in 1603 revealed that only a little over £3,000 was still owing for all England for the whole of the reign of Elizabeth.¹

As far as the diocese of Canterbury was concerned, the vicars whose benefices were valued at over £10 per annum and the rectors whose benefices were valued at over £6 13s 6d per annum---a total of 227 incumbents---paid the crown about £3,397 8s 10½d from the time of the restoration of first fruits to 11 June, 1575. The amounts paid in any one year are a rough guide to the number of institutions to benefices in that year. Thus, in 1560, the first year in which Parker paid serious attention to the diocese, the compositions for first fruits amounted to at least £514 2s 6½d. This was the year in which Parker instituted 44 incumbents in the diocese---nearly twice the average number---and was also the richest year in first fruits from the diocese. The £63 3s 11d paid in 1572 was the least paid in any year during his tenure of office. The archdeacons paid £293 10s 8d for their first fruits, and Parker himself paid £2,788 10s 10-3/4d. Though the figures for the compositions for personages may be a little inaccurate (for example, they include the benefices obtained before Parker's enthronement and may miss some of the incumbents who; in 1575, were slow to compound), the approximate total of first fruits received by the crown from the diocese of Canterbury (excluding the dean and chapter and the peculiars) was £6,479 10s 4-3/4d. The total received from clerical subsidies for the period from all Canterbury incumbents, including the dean and chapter and the peculiars, was only £5,853 7s 7-3/4d---considerably less than the amount received from clerical first

1. P.R.O./E. 341/1.

fruits. Thus, first fruits were the most important form of royal tax revenue from the diocese of Canterbury during Parker's tenure of office,¹ and very little of the first fruits money went uncollected.

(ii) CLERICAL TENTHS AND SUBSIDIES.

While Parker bore relatively little responsibility for the collection of first fruits, he was, as diocesan, statutorily responsible for the collection of clerical tenths and subsidies---a task which he delegated to his deputy collector. At first he employed one Henry Seath, who had been deputy collector for the dean and chapter of Canterbury during the vacancy of the archbishopric, and Seath's partner Woodward,² but from about 1560 or 1561 Parker's deputy collector was one William Whytinge.

William Whytinge may well have been a Norwich man. Whether or not he was the William Whytinge who was admitted B.A. (Oxon.) in 1514 (in which case he would have been about ten years older than Parker), and whether or not he was the Whytinge who was admitted to the Middle Temple on 5 February, 1516, is not certain, but by April, 1562, he was described as a gentleman resident in Parker's household. He seems to have remained at Lambeth until Parker made him collector. By 1564 he had settled at Beakesbourne, Kent, the site of one of Parker's residences, and remained there.³

1. See references given in note 3, p. 345, note 3, p. 346, note 3, p. 347.

2. Lambeth MSS./C.M./I/65, 65b, 67, 68, 72.

3. Index to Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich, 1558-1603, ed. Furrow and Millican (London, 1950), sub Whytinge; cf. Index of Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1558-1583 (London, 1898), p. 337; Foster, AO, I, iv, 1622; Register of Admissions to...the Middle Temple, ed. Macgeah and Sturgess, I (London, 1914), 9; P.R.O./E. 334/7, fo. 153; Lambeth MS./C.M./I/65b.

Whytinge does not seem to have been particularly honest. At least, about the year 1570 the exchequer caught up with him for contriving, with the help of the farmers involved, to conceal a considerable amount of clerical land. Parker was not able to pass on to Whytinge his own usual honesty in such matters. Whytinge nonetheless continued as Parker's collector, was granted in 1573 by Parker a joint lease of the keepership of an archiepiscopal wood worth about £18 per year, and was a pallbearer at Parker's funeral.¹

The clerical tenths from his diocese, that is, ten per cent of the annual revenue of ecclesiastical benefices in the diocese of Canterbury, a sum of £478 15s 7½d per annum, was given to Parker by the crown in 1559 in partial exchange for some of his lands.² Thus, when Whytinge collected the clerical tenth from the clergy of Canterbury diocese he gave it to Parker---saving for himself a £20 collector's fee.³ There were, however, some clerical tenths and similar payments made from Canterbury diocese to the crown during Parker's administration. First of all, the exchequer was trying to collect arrearages of tenths--- arrearages from earlier administrations. No such arrearages were paid for Canterbury diocese in 1560,⁴ but £2 were paid in 1561,⁵ £4 16s 2½d

1. P.R.O./E. 334/9, fo. 11v; /E. 179/9/80a; J. Strype, Parker, II (Oxford, 1821), 145, 365; B.M. MS./Lansd./21/4, fo. 7v; regarding concealed lands in the diocese of Canterbury see P.R.O./E. 178/1101, 1104, 1400, 2239, 1094, 1077, 1082, 1089, 7057 (Reg., pp. 1031-1035); /E. 301/208.

2. P.R.O./S.C. 11/856; C.P.R. Eliz., II (1560-63), 191-98; 1 Eliz. c. 19 in SR, IV, 381. Cf. du Boulay, op.cit., 19-36; P.R.O./L.R. 6/98/2,3,4,6, 7,8,9,10,11,12; /L.R. 6/99/1-5.

3. Lambeth MS./C.M./I/72.

4. P.R.O./A.O. 1/1205/1, rot. 3, front.

5. P.R.O./A.O. 1/1205/4, rot. 1, front.

were paid in 1562,¹ and in 1563 and 1564, 13s 10½d.² In 1564 at least £100 10½d was still owing in arrears of tenths from the diocese of Canterbury plus £83 8s 11-3/4d due from the executors of archdeacon Harpe^rsfield and cardinal Pole.³ In 1565 the exchequer collected a further £2 3s 8d of that owing,⁴ and in 1568 the arrears collected amounted to £7 11s 6d.⁵ Fourteen shillings were paid in 1569,⁶ but in that year Parker complained about the unfairness of the exaction of arrearages from incumbents who had had nothing to do with the original debt,⁷ and, although a debt of £93 14d was still outstanding in 1570,⁸ no further arrears of tenths were collected from Canterbury diocese after Parker's complaint.

In addition to arrears of tenths from the diocese, Parker himself paid clerical tenths for his archbishopric---£123 13s 7½d in the first year of his archiepiscopate,⁹ and £55 14s 6¼d for every year after that---a total of £1,321 19s 8-3/4d for the whole period of his administration. In addition, there were the so-called 'penc., porc. et decime' ---usually £24 per annum---collected by receivers appointed by Parker and paid to the crown's receiver general for Kent.¹⁰

1. P.R.O./A.O. 1/1205/5, rot. 3, back.
2. P.R.O./A.O. 1/1205/6.
3. Lambeth MS./C.M./I/64.
4. P.R.O./A.O. 1/1205/7.
5. P.R.O./A.O. 1/1205/10, rot. 1, back.
6. P.R.O./A.O. 1/1206/13, rot. 1, back.
7. P.R.O./S.P. 12/60, fo. 208.
8. Lambeth MS./C.M./I/69.
9. P.R.O./L.R. 6/98/2.
10. P.R.O./L.R. 6/98/2-11; /L.R. 6/99/1-5.

The clerical subsidy, perfected by the Tudors and extinct after 1663,¹ was during Elizabeth's reign a lucrative tax. The subsidy acts were drafted by the bishops in convocation,² and for nine of the first seventeen years of Elizabeth's reign the clergy were making subsidy payments.³

Parker's collectors were responsible for collecting the subsidy payments from the diocese, though he paid his own share directly into the exchequer.⁴ The subsidy acts provided that the collectors (i.e. the bishops) would get 6d for every pound collected---between £30 and £50 for most of the subsidies from Parker's Canterbury⁵---but whether or not Parker turned all or part of that collector's fee over to his deputies the relevant documents do not reveal.

All those who were paying first fruits in the year of the levy were automatically free from the subsidy payment of that particular year. The Calais peculiars, lost to the French, were not taxed.⁶ The three almshouses in the city of Canterbury were exempt.⁷ Notice was taken in some of the

1. S. Dowell, A History of Taxation and Taxes in England, II (London, 1888), 29; F.C. Dietz, English Government Finance, 1485-1555 (Urbana, 1920); Two Sixteenth Century Taxation Lists: 1546 and 1576, ed. G.D. Ramsey (Devies, 1954); Subsidy Roll for the County of Buckingham Anno 1524, ed. A.V. Woodman, Bucks. Record Soc., VIII (1950); Wilson, op. cit., p. 27; W.T. MacCaffrey, 'Place and Patronage in Elizabethan Politics', in Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale, ed. S.T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C.H. Williams (London, 1961), p. 99, n.2. Cf. Ramsey, op. cit., p. 161.

2. Corresp., p. 196.

3. Subsidy payments were not being made by the clergy during the periods 25 March, 1561 to 30 September, 1563; 30 September 1565 to 24 May, 1567; 24 May, 1569 to 1 October 1571 and 1 October 1573 to 1 October 1576. Arrearages were, of course, being paid during some of those times. F.C. Dietz, The Exchequer in Elizabeth's Reign (Smith College (Mass.), 1923), pp. 80-83.

4. Lambeth MS./C.M./I/72.

5. Lambeth MS./C.M./I/67.

6. P.R.O./E. 359/48, rot. 2, front. By 1567 mention of the Calais peculiars had vanished from the subsidy accounts (/E. 359/48, rot. 3, front).

7. Ibid., rot. 1, front.

records that eleven Canterbury diocese chantries, having been dissolved, were no longer taxable.¹

During Parker's administration the people who contributed to the Canterbury subsidies were the archbishop himself, the dean and chapter of the cathedral, the archdeacon, the parochial clergy, the pensioned ex-religious, and certain stipendiaries. Between 1559 and 1575 their total gross initial payments, excluding arrearages and excluding the minute payments of the pensioned ex-religious, were £5,851 1s 9¼d (£5,694 4s 3-3/4d net after the deduction of collectors' fees and expenses) in twelve payments.

The clerical subsidy granted in 1555,² which netted the crown £1215 8s 3½d from the diocese of Canterbury,³ troubled Parker's administration only in connection with the £83 16s 1d of it owed (in arrears) by Canterbury incumbents. On 17 July, 1562, an exchequer mandate for the collection of this money, plus £12 15s 11-3/4d arrears of an even earlier clerical subsidy, was addressed to the dean and chapter of Canterbury cathedral. Parker was at least informed of the action, even if his aid⁴ was not positively sought.

1. E.g., *ibid.*, rot. 1, front.

2. 2 & 3 Philip and Mary c. 22 (1555) in *SR*, IV, 297.

3. P.R.O./E. 359/48, rot. 2, front (first and second payments), rot. 1, front (third payment). For the purposes of the clerical subsidies it has been necessary to extend the meaning of the word 'diocese' to include the peculiars in Middlesex, Essex and London---the crown's accounts did not distinguish between the diocese proper and the peculiars. Except where otherwise stated subsidy figures have been taken from the clerical subsidy rolls/E. 359/48 and /E. 359/49.

4. Lambeth MS./C.M./I/60-62.

Payments of this debt continued to dribble into the exchequer,¹ and by 1567 the original debt of £83 16s 1d had been reduced to £18 4s 3½d.² This would, however, have been a burden to the seventeen benefices from which it was owing, and especially burdensome considering charges for current subsidies, first fruits, tenths, and arrears of first fruits and tenths. Understandably incumbents paid the subsidies levied during their own tenure of office a good deal more promptly and gracefully than they paid the debts of their predecessors. This was especially so after 1568 when there appears to have been an exchequer drive to clean up arrearages, and £12 16s 10d more was extracted from the holders of eight Canterbury benefices of arrears of pre-Elizabethan subsidies dating as far back as 1535---the year of Henry VIII's initial first fruits legislation.³

The effect of these exactions was to Parker a real worry. In 1569 in an official certificate to the exchequer Parker declared that in his last visitation as well as in the one before that he had remitted, because of the extreme poverty of the Canterbury incumbents, the procurations due to him. The poverty of the incumbents, he wrote, was the result of the intolerable exactions for the arrears of subsidies and tenths owed by previous incumbents of twenty years and more before. (He would not have exaggerated had he said thirty years.) He said that some of the arrears had been paid to the collector, but that writs for their collection did not cease to pour

1. P.R.O./A.O. 1/1205/4, rot. 1, back, and rot. 2, front; /A.O. 1/1205/5, rot. 3, back; /A.O. 1/1205/6, rot. 3, back and rot. 5, back; /A.O. 1/1205/7, rot. 2, back; /A.O. 1/1206/10; /A.O. 1/1206/13, rot. 2, front and back. For the benefices involved cf. Lambeth MS./C.M./I/60-62 and P.R.O./E. 372/413, in residuum Kanciae. The total pre-Elizabethan clerical subsidy arrears collected for all England for the same seven years was £1,159 3s 11½d; 40% of that was collected in 1563.

2. P.R.O. /E. 372/413, in residuum Kanciae.

3. P.R.O./A.O. 1/1206/10.

forth from the exchequer.¹ After 1569, the year in which Parker's report was submitted, no further pre-Marian tenths were collected from the diocese of Canterbury.

The clerical subsidy granted in 1558 was of much more direct significance to Parker.² The basic grant was of eight shillings in the pound (based, as always, on the Valor Ecclesiasticus), and was payable over three years. The dean and chapter of Canterbury cathedral were responsible, as sede vacante ordinaries, for the collection of the first two payments of the subsidy, and Parker was responsible for the collection of the last two payments which fell due on 25 March, 1560, and 25 March, 1561, respectively. A very important provision of the subsidy act of 1558 was that no spiritual benefice or ecclesiastical property charged under it was to be again chargeable for any fifteenth or lay subsidy for the next five years, that is, not until early in 1563. This explains the atypical fact that in Elizabeth's first parliament no clerical subsidy was granted, although a lay subsidy and two fifteenths and tenths were.³ Perhaps it also helps to explain the timing of the calling of Elizabeth's second parliament---that is, Elizabeth's second parliament was called after the five years had expired and the clerical estate was again liable to be taxed.

The net initial ^{revenue} ~~income~~ (not including arrears collected late) from the last three payments of the clerical subsidy granted in 1558 was £917 17s 8½d, but £419 2s 10½d was not collected.⁴ Eighty-three, or approximately

1. P.R.O./S.P. 12/60, fo. 208.

2. 4 & 5 Philip and Mary c. 10 (1558) in SR, IV, 332ff.

3. 1 Eliz. c. 21 (1559), in SR, IV, 384ff.

4. P.R.O./E. 372/413, in residuum Kanciae; /E. 179/9/77. Unfortunately the returns for the first of the four payments were not entered on the subsidy roll with the other three.

one-third of the benefices were vacant or else their incumbent had refused to pay.¹ None of these arrears had been paid by 1567 and the incumbents were declared fully liable.² The proportion of defaulters was not again during Parker's administration as high as it was for the subsidy granted in 1558. By 1572, for example, only seven benefices assessed for a subsidy payment failed to pay³---an indication of some of the order which Parker was bringing into his diocese. Except in the unique case of Harty---for which Sir Henry Cheyney refused to make subsidy payments on the grounds that he had a patent from Henry VIII authorizing him completely to secularize the benefice⁴---after 1560 outright refusals to pay were rare⁵---arrears of subsidy payments were usually the result of a vacancy of the benefice.

The subsidy granted in 1558 appears to have been the only one with which Parker had trouble on his own account. Thus, on 25 June, 1572, an exchequer writ went out demanding Parker's arrearages of the subsidy,⁶ and the exchequer was still trying to get this money from John Parker, the archbishop's son and executor, in November 1578.⁷

The clerical subsidy of 1563 was the first one which Parker helped to draft. The preamble, reflecting the gravity of the situation in 1563 and the accepted philosophy of subsidies being granted when the country was in danger, stated that the clergy were grateful to the Queen 'principallye for the settinge fourthe and advauncing of Godde's hollie worde, his sincere

1. P.R.O./E. 179/9/77 (1560).
2. P.R.O./E. 372/413, in residuum Kanciae.
3. P.R.O./E. 179/9/86 (1572).
4. Cf. L. & P. Hen. VIII, XIII, i, number 64, page 247.
5. There were occasional refusals to pay on the grounds of having been wrongly assessed. P.R.O./E. 359/50.
6. Lambeth MS./C.M./I/63. The amount was not specified.
7. Lambeth MS./C.M./I/79/1.

and trewe religion, and abolishing all forrayne power contrarie to the same.¹ The preamble indicated that the clergy were well aware of the precariousness of England's position, of the debts of the Queen, of the need to strengthen England's fortifications, and of the great expenses born by the Queen in reducing Scotland 'to unitye and concorde', in procuring 'the abatinge of all hostilitie and persecution within the realm of Fraunce practized and used against the professors of Godde's hollie gospel and trewe religion', and in preserving peace and defending the realm. The clergy therefore granted six shillings in the pound of nine-tenths the annual revenue (as set out in the Valor) to the holder of each benefice payable in three years at the rate of two shillings per pound per year.¹ In spite of the large deductions on account of first fruits, and in spite of the unsettled state of the diocese, the revenue from Canterbury for the subsidy of 1563 was greater than for any other during Parker's archiepiscopate. The net revenue for the three collections was £1,853 16s 17½d.

As far as Canterbury was concerned, most of the subsidy granted in 1563 was paid by Parker himself, by the dean and chapter, and by the incumbents of the larger parish churches. For every two shillings granted, the archbishop paid £268 5s 2½d, totalling for the whole subsidy £804 15s 7½d, which was about 32.6% of the net revenue of the subsidy. This was about Parker's usual share.

The basic subsidy assessment for the dean and chapter was £102 for every two shillings levied. This they paid in 1559, 1560, and 1561. For the next subsidy, that is, that of 1563 to 1565, the twelve minor canons were exempted and the dean and chapter contributed only £90 for every two shillings levied. Apparently on account of a special arrangement made with the Queen for the

1. 5 Eliz. c. 29 (1563), in SR, IV, 458-61.

support of the chapter and upkeep of the cathedral, the share of the dean and chapter dropped to £78 for every two shillings levied for the last two subsidies.¹ Thus, while the dean and chapter paid about 32% of the last three payments of the subsidy of 1558, their share dropped to 10% for the subsidy granted in 1563 and was, for the last two subsidies with which Parker was concerned, about 13%.

Though the payments by the archbishop and the cathedral were large, they by no means dwarfed the total contributions of the archdeacon and the rectors and vicars of the diocese. In 1563 every benefice of the value of £5 and upwards was assessed, and that group of benefices paid £796 17s 6½d or about 42% of the gross total, and had arrears of only £40 18s 4¼d. For three payments of the previous subsidy that group of benefices had paid only half as much and had had ten times as large an arrearage. For the last two subsidies the performance of the same group was about the same as for the subsidy granted in 1563: almost all of the parsons seem to have paid their share and the arrearages were slight. The total contribution by the archdeacon and the parsons, assuming that the archbishop's share remained constant, was £457 18s 11d for the subsidy of 8 Elizabeth and £745 19s 2½d for the subsidy of 13 Elizabeth. The reason for the difference in amounts between the two subsidies was that the grant was less in the statute of 13 Elizabeth than in the one of 8 Elizabeth.

The last two subsidies exempted benefices valued at not more than £6 13s 4d. The last two subsidies also set a flat rate for all vicarages of a value less than £10 and more than £6 13s 4d: such vicarages were

1. P.R.O./E. 359/48, rot. 3, back. The money deducted from the taxes was to be used to maintain cathedral preachers, minor canons, vicars choral, choristers, boys in the school and the upkeep of the cathedral.

to pay 6s 8d for each of the three years.¹ In 1567, 1568 and 1569 there were in the diocese 46 such vicarages valued at above ten marks but not exceeding ten pounds. Their total contribution was £46.² In 1571, 1572 and 1573 there were 45 such benefices, all of which, except Bewsfield which was vacant at the time, paid promptly. Their total contribution was £44 13s 4d.³ If the poorest incumbents in the diocese found it possible to meet their share of the subsidy payments it seems that the rating, for them at least, was not unduly severe.

Ex-religious had their contributions to the subsidies deducted from their crown stipends by a royal officer. It was not a matter that concerned Parker and his collectors.⁴ Other stipendiaries---around twenty who contributed £31 11s 8d between 1563 and 1565,⁵ twenty-one in 1567,⁶ nineteen in 1568 and thirteen in 1569.⁷---had had their subsidy payments deducted from their stipends before they received them. The total contribution of those stipendiaries in the last three years was £17 13s 4d.⁸ From 1571 to 1573 there were 34, 12 and 17 of these stipendiaries whose total contribution to the subsidy was £14 13s 4d.⁹

As of 1566 the clergy of the diocese of Canterbury had contributed £141 19s 8d for the rebuilding of St. Paul's cathedral.¹⁰

1. 13 Eliz. c. 26 (1571) in SR, IV, 562-567; P.R.O./E. 359/50, rot. 4 back and rot. 5.
2. P.R.O./E. 359/48, under the appropriate rotuli.
3. P.R.O./E. 359/50, under the appropriate rotuli.
4. The receivers general for the counties were the ones who paid the pensioned ex-religious. P.R.O./L.R. 6/98/2-11; /L.R.6/99/1-5.
5. P.R.O./E. 359/48, rot. 1, front, rot. 2 front.
6. P.R.O./E. 359/48, rot. 3, front; /E. 179/9/81.
7. P.R.O./E. 359/48, rot. 2, front; /E. 179/9/80b.
8. P.R.O./E. 359/48, rot. 5, back.
9. P.R.O./E. 179/9/87; /E. 359/50, rot. 4, back; /E. 359/50, rot. 5.
10. P.R.O./E. 164/66, fo. 49v.

Holders of the ten diocesan benefices and two peculiars worth more than £30 per year, and several of the senior personnel of the cathedral, were obliged in 1569 to assist in the defence of the country by supplying 35 bows, 35 sheafs of arrows, 35 steel caps, ten halberds, ten 'alamayn ryvettes platecots brigandines', nine 'corsiettes', sixteen 'alamayn knottes', nine pikes, three bills and one 'morian'.¹ They also had to make some contribution of armour in 1573.²

The total amount of taxes in cash paid by Parker and his diocese of Canterbury during his administration, omitting for the most part arrears, was at least £12,686 11s 10-3/4d. That is, the archdeacons, parsons, vicars and stipendiary priests of the diocese (including peculiars) paid £2,470 9s 3/4d in clerical subsidies from 1559 until the time of Parker's death. The same group of people (excluding peculiars) paid approximately £3,690 19s 6½d in first fruits for the same period. The archbishop himself paid £2,788 10s 10¼d in first fruits, £2,414 12s 8½d in subsidies, and about £1,321 19s 8-3/4d in tenths---a total of £6,525 3s 4d. In addition there were contributions of armour, entertainment of the Queen and her party, etc.

1. C.C.C.C. MS./122, fos. 353-55, 375-77; P.R.O./S.P.12/59, fo.1.
2. P.R.O./S.P. 12/93, fos. 64-64v; Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz. (1547-80), pp. 459, 490.

TABLE II: FIRST FRUITS FROM PAROCHIAL INCUMBENTS, THE ARCHBISHOP, AND THE ARCHDEACONS OF CANTERBURY DIOCESE, 1559-75.

Date	Number of institutions. ¹	Number of benefices liable to pay first fruits. ²	Value of compositions for first fruits. ²		
			£	s	d
1559	1 (by Parker)	8 (including archdeaconry)	311	4	1½
1560	44	30	514	2	6½
1561	36	22 (plus archbishopric)	310 2,788	16 10	7 10½ (for the archbishopric).
1562	21	18	207	12	1
1563	21	15	209	7	1
1564	30	17	246	1	7
1565	26	10	169	6	10
1566	15	10	84	14	9-3/4
1567	28	9	117	9	2½
1568	20	9	145	6	7
1569	28	17	313	5	8½
1570	35	24	374	19	9
1571	16	7	103	7	5½
1572	21	6	69	3	11
1573	20	8 (including archdeaconry)	230	19	5-3/4
1574	21	12	192	18	1½
1575	6 (by Parker)	7	90	3	7-3/4
Totals	389	229 (plus the archbishopric)	6,479	10	4-3/4

1. Reg., *passim*.

2. P.R.O./E. 334/7, 8 and 9.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS.

Most of the discoveries I have made, and most of the conclusions I have drawn as a result of this investigation are included within the various chapters and sections. There are, however, a few general observations to be made. First, the study of Parker's administration reveals that the system was quite complex and quite sophisticated. It comprised, in essence, the medieval system with a few adjustments to suit the royal supremacy. The medieval system (minus papal control) was far from moribund---it had been refurbished in typically Tudor fashion. The main features of the disciplinary system, for example, were a legacy from the pre-Reformation era, and were working with a good deal of efficiency.

Secondly, Parker himself did give considerable attention to the needs of his diocese. Most of Parker's work was done, however, by deputies---again after the fashion of the later middle ages. He set the tone of the administration, laid out in detail what was expected, but for the most part gave others the task of implementing the policy. Whatever critics of this situation may have said, it is true that in any age the essence of good administration is to be able successfully to delegate responsibility.

In spite of the general medieval character of the system, however, this study has begun to reveal the importance of statute law in Elizabethan episcopal administration. Canon law was still the principal code in marriage matters and, in

tithe matters, custom was greatly relied upon, but much of the rest of the system drew its ultimate authority from statute law. Thus, the royal injunction³ and articles (and they were the most important statements of policy on religion, morals, clerical and lay deportment, and on the aims of the Elizabethan government in the ecclesiastical sphere) were issued by virtue of the acts of supremacy and uniformity. There were statutes limiting pluralism and non-residence, a statute enforcing the writ de excommunicato capiendo, a statute against violence in church, a statute stating which were the saints' days to be observed, statutes concerning the taxation of the clergy (and this study has shown that the clergy paid out much in taxes) and statutes controlling the terms of leases of episcopal lands. All of these statutes were enforceable in the secular courts, a factor which greatly helped efficient administration, even though the statutes were not always actually enforced. Moreover, whereas Edwardian legislation on such matters as saints' days was observed under Elizabeth, it becomes clear that, in the area of ecclesiastical administration, the Reformation was still progressing during the years of Parker's administration. Thus, many new pieces of legislation were being passed in order to end abuses in ecclesiastical administration. Parker himself helped to push through some of the new pieces of legislation.

As far as the clergy were concerned, the archbishop's major problem was to find any at all. Those who were well qualified, such as many of the cathedral personnel, were very widely employed. Marian clerics who would not take the oath, and there were many of them, were dismissed by the royal visitors or, later, by Parker; but as long as clerics would take the oath, were of canonical age and would obey the laws of the land, Parker prevented few from becoming incumbents in his diocese. This was true at least for the first years of his administration,

though sometime around 1569, with the growing chorus of criticism of the low standards of the clergy, with the emergence of a definite puritan party, and with, on the other hand, the re-invigorated Catholic opposition, Parker began to be more careful about the standards of the clergy he admitted. There was some of the Erasmian 'philosophia Christi' motif in the thought of the diocesan clergy and in the thought of Parker himself, but because his major need was for clergy of any quality and because he used some of the benefices at his disposal as remuneration for his servants, Parker did not use his patronage primarily to secure men with specific religious views.

Finally, Parker seems to have been much less of a reformer in his later years than he had been under Henry and Edward. He was true to his belief that such laws as existed ought to be enforced, that such authorities as there were ought to be obeyed, and that in the end the maintenance of order and quiet were his principal duties. His policies towards the puritans are explicable only in these terms. He thought that without social and political order it would be difficult to further the cause of the gospel.

APPENDIX I

PREBENDARIES OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

(i) CANONS IN THE FIRST PREBEND.

GEORGE LYLY (LILI), col. 13 March, 1558, Richard Thorneden ob. (Fasti, I, 47.)
 Died before 20 Oct., 1559, holding the office. (C.P.R. Eliz., I, 40.) Son of
 'the famous grammarian' William Lyly, George studied at Magdalene College, Oxford,
 was a canon of St. Paul's from 1556 until his death, and was chaplain to cardinal
 Pole. (Ibid., I, 89; Foster, AO., I, iii, 914; Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli',
 fo. 76v.)

THEODORE NEWTON, M.A., presented by the Queen 20 Oct., 1559, George Lyly ob.
 (C.P.R. Eliz., I, 40.) Held the benefice until his death in 1569. (Fasti, I, 47.)
 Brother of the dean of Winchester, brother of lady Cobham (Corresp., pp. 340-41),
 B.A. (Oxon.) 1549, M.A. 1552 and was, in 1551, R. Badgworth, Somerset. (Foster, AO.,
 I, iii, 1066.) Described in 1561 as an unmarried priest, resident and hospitable
 at Canterbury, did not preach and had no other benefices. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo.
 19.) Was, from 1565 to 1569, R. of both Ringwold, pat. John Bacon, gent., and of
 St. Dionis, Lime Street, London, pat. dean and chapter of Canterbury. (Reg., pp.
 816, 851; Foster, AO., I, iii, 1066.) Granted, for a $\text{£}6$ 10s fee, a dispensation
 on 26 Sept., 1568, to hold, besides Ringwold, two other benefices wherever he

wished. (Lambeth MS./723, fo. 10v.) Left small bequests to several members of his family including his books to his sons John and Fogg, a double duckett to each of seven of lord Cobham's children, and made prebendary John Butler, to whom his wife was related by marriage, his sole executor. (Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/31, fo. 175.)

THOMAS LAWSE (1537-1594), M.A., Ll.D., col. 13 Jan., 1569, Theodore Newton ob. (Reg., p. 569.) The Queen had ordered Parker to give this prebend to Theodore Newton's brother, the dean of Winchester, in order to please lady Cobham and the dean's other relatives and friends, but Parker refused. (Corresp., pp. 340-41.) Lawse retained the prebend until 1583. (Fasti, I, 47.) Of Aylsham, Norfolk (to the poor of which he left a bequest), Lawse attended Corpus. B.A. (Cantab.) 1559, M.A. 1562, Ll.D. 1578 (?), fellow of Corpus, 1558. (Venn, AC., I, iii, 52; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/37, fo. 198. Venn had the wrong date of death and placed the date of Lawse's doctorate much too late: he was 'Doctor Lawse' at least as early as 1569.) In 1569 Lawse lived and dispensed hospitality in Canterbury, but 'because he was commissary', did not preach in person. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207.) Commissioned commissary general for the city and diocese of Canterbury 29 Jan., 1570, and was also commissary general for Grindal and Whitgift. (Reg. pp. 576-77; E. Grindal, Remains, ed. William Nicholson, PPS (Cambridge, 1843), 415, 416, 424; Venn, loc. cit.; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/32, fos. 127-28, 202-203.) Succeeded in 1569 as commissary general by George Newman. (Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/38, fos. 91v-93.) Commissioned to grant marriage dispensations within the city and diocese by vicar general Thomas Yale, 13 Feb., 1570. Re-commissioned for the same office by Parker himself, 7 Oct., 1573. (Reg., pp. 573, 1059.) Master of Eastbridge Hospital, 1569-94; accused, post mortem, of concealing lands and revenues of the hospital and of making low rent leases. (J. Strype, Parker, I (Oxford, 1821), 565-67; Reg., pp.

592, 864; Strype, Whitgift, II (Oxford, 1822), 353.) Commissioned by Parker to visit the diocese in 1569 and commissioned with Andrew Pearson to reform the detecta of the visitation. (Strype, Parker, I, 562; Reg., pp. 577-78.)

At his death Lawse's household goods and plate were appraised at $\text{£}243$ 5s 8d. He had cash bequests of over $\text{£}412$ and bequests of lands in the parishes of Mersham, Snave, Cosmos, Whitstable, Cranbrook, forty-four acres of rich Romney Marsh lands in the parish of Ivychurch, and a manor called Hothe Courte which he valued at $\text{£}600$. Besides the usual charitable gifts, most of Lawse's bequests were to his family, Declared his belief that his soul would be received into the 'everlastinge kingdome' of God by virtue of 'the merayts of Christe Jesus my onely saviour and redeemer'. Mentioned John Boys, esq., as one of his best friends. Owned a few books and maps. (Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/37, fo. 198; /P.R.C./21/13, fo. 544; /P.R.C./32/37, fo. 234 (will of Thomas's widow Anne).)

(ii) CANONS IN THE SECOND PREBEND.

ARTHUR ST. LEGER (SEYNTLEGER), appointed by the charter of incorporation, 8 April, 1542. (Fasti, I, 48.) Retained the prebend throughout Mary's reign. (Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fo. 32.) Resigned before 6 April, 1568. (Reg., p. 836.) Of the important Kent family and related by marriage to archbishop Warham. (DNB., sub family name St. Leger.) Not a university graduate, 'moderately learned', a priest, not married, did not preach nor was he licensed to preach, held Hollingbourne with the chapels of Hucking and Bredhurst in addition to this prebend in 1561, provided hospitality in both his capacity as prebendary and as rector, was resident sometimes at the cathedral sometimes at his rectory. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 19, 26.) On 6 May, 1568, in spite of protests to William Cecil, Parker confirmed a royal

dispensation to St. Leger to be a non-resident canon for life 'ex certis causis iustis et legitimis ex parte sua coram regia maiestate proposit'. Apparently a royal chaplain. (Corresp., p. 319; Lambeth MS./723, fo. 3v.) There is a contradiction in dates here which I have not been able to solve: Parker granted the dispensation on 6 May, but two sources indicate that St. Leger had resigned by 6 April. (Reg., p. 836; C.P.R. Eliz., IV, 314.) Also non-resident rector of Ulcombe, 1537-59. (Harpes., p. 206 n; Reg., p. 369.) Col. by Cranmer R. Hollingbourne in 1537 which benefice he held until his death in 1569. (Lambeth MS./'Registrum Cranmeri', fo. 364; Reg., p. 847; inventory of goods: Maidstone MS./P.R.C./21/1; administration of will: Maidstone MS./C. Ad./7, fo. 27; no will located.)

ANTHONY RUSH, M.A., S.T.P., presented by the Queen 29 March, and adm. 6 April, 1568, St. Leger res. (C.P.R. Eliz., IV, 314; Reg., p. 836.) Held the benefice until his death in 1577. Studied at King's School, Canterbury; B.A. (Oxon.) of Magdalen College, 1544, M.A. 1558, S.T.D. (Cantab.), 1565 (DNB.) and S.T.P. by 1568. In some trouble at Oxford for his protestant views during Mary's reign. (Ibid.) His studiousness impressed Parker. (Corresp., p. 283.) Published a treatise on government in 1566. (STC., 21,453.) Made headmaster of King's School, Canterbury, in 1561 by dean Wotton with Parker's warm consent. Parker thought Rush would give the youth an opportunity 'to unlearn again that [which] hath been wrongly taught them.' (Corresp., p. 144-45.) Rush kept the headmastership until 1565. (DNB.) A pluralist, Rush became R. of Woodham Walter, Essex, in 1565, R. of Calverton, Bucks., in 1566, and was R. of Brightling, Sussex, 1565-69. (Ibid.; Venn, AC., I, iii, 498.) Canon of Windsor, 1566-77 (DNB.), R. Ogariswick Canterbury diocese, 1564-77 (Reg., p. 805), R. St. Olave, Southwark, 1569, chaplain to the earl of

Sussex in 1565 and dean of Chichester 1570-77. (DNB.) In 1569 the combined annual income from Rush's two prebends and two rectories was £122. At that time Rush was described as married, resident part of the time at Windsor, part at Canterbury and part with the Queen. Parker had licensed Rush to preach in 1561 and Rush was still preaching in 1569. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207; Cant. MS./1569 Clerical Survey, fo. 5v; Corresp., p. 144; will not located.)

(iii) CANONS IN THE THIRD PREBEND.

WILLIAM DARRELL (DORELL), M.A., presented 24 March, adm. 2 April, 1554, Robert Goldestone, married clerk, depriv. Darrell given a grant specifically stating that his tenure was for life. (C.P.R. Mary, I, 222, 323; Fasti, I, 49.) Continued as a prebendary throughout the time of Parker's administration and was vice-dean of the cathedral. In 1561 Stephen Nevinson was said to hold this prebend and Darrell the twelfth. Possibly there were exchanges of benefices, but Darrell was certainly again in this benefice in 1569. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 19.) 15 Jan., 1559, William Darrell, clerk, late of Lenham, county Kent, among those who received the Queen's general pardon. (C.P.R. Eliz., I, 223.) Of the important Kent family some of whose members were recusants and, under James I, Roman Catholic priests. Learned some of their Roman Catholicism from Canterbury schoolmaster John Twyne. (H.N. Birt, The Elizabethan Religious Settlement (London, 1907).) B.A. and M.A. (Oxon.), 1554, resident at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1564. R. of Tenterden until 1556, R. of Little Chart, 1546-60, 29 Sept., 1558, adm. V. Lenham, pat. Anthony St. Leger; prebendary of Canterbury, 1554-79; R. of Little Hardres, 1560-68; V. of Brookland, 1564-72; and V. Chilham, 1565-72. (Venn, AC., I, ii, 12; Foster, AO., I, i, 373; Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fo. 81v; Reg., passim.) Described in 1561 as

a priest, not married, learned, resident and hospitable at Canterbury, a preacher and held three or more other benefices. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 19.) Favoured by lord Cobham. (DNB.) Took an active part in the consecration of Parker. (Reg., pp. 7, 21, 24-27.) The favour of the Queen, to whom he was chaplain, made it possible for Darrell to be a non-resident pluralist, a privilege which he abused in every way possible. (Harpes., p. 134; Lambeth MS./C.M./13/44, fos. 3v, 6; Cant. MS./Z/3/7, fo. 49v; Cant. MS./X/1/5, fos. 95v-96; Cant. MS./X/1/8, fo. 97; Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 96v; etc.) Though Parker grumbled about it, on 10 Jan., 1568, 'for divers causes and reasons moving us', he granted a faculty to Darrell to be absent from all of his benefices during the Queen's good pleasure. (Lambeth MS./723, fo. 11; Corresp., p. 319.) Described himself in 1568 as prebendary of Canterbury and dean of Furness in Ireland at which time he named Henry Style of Westminster to receive all his revenues from his benefices in England. (Cant. MS./Reg. V³ (1567-69), fos. 72 and 69 (in that order).) By 1569 Darrell held four Canterbury benefices besides the prebend. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207.) Grindal advised Cecil in 1567 against making Darrell archbishop of Armagh and Darrell did not obtain the benefice. (Grindal, Remains, p. 292.) Something of an antiquary (perhaps at Parker's inspiration), Darrell wrote a treatise on the castles of Kent. (DNB.)

(iv) CANONS IN THE FOURTH PREBEND.

NICHOLAS HARPESFIELD, D.C.L., col. 1 Nov., 1558, Richard Parkhurst ob. (Fasti, I, 50; Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fo. 81v.) Deprived shortly after the accession of Elizabeth. Brother of Bonner's chaplain, John Harpesfield. (DNB.) Learned in canon and civil law, Greek and theology. Actively persecuted heretics during Mary's reign. Archdeacon of Canterbury, 1554-59. (Fasti, I, 43.) Marian R. Saltwood. Col. R. Bishopsbourne, 24 Mar., 1558. (Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fo. 77.)

Defended the old religion of Elizabeth's accession, deprived of all preferments, imprisoned and died in the Tower in 1575. (Foster, AO., I, ii, 651; Lambeth MS./ 'Registrum Poli'; Harpes.; DNB.) From prison published under a pseudonym^{see} theolo- gical works in which he maintained, among other things, that the apostles were monks and Christ the first abbot^f. He attacked the Orthodox Church for allowing the marriage of priests, expounded on the virtues of holy water and charged Peter Martyr with denying that Christ is mankind's intercessor. Jewel wrote in refutation of Harpesfield. Harpesfield also wrote a history of the church in England. (J. Jewel, Works, ed. J. Ayre, PPS (Cambridge, 1850), I, 134; III, 179, 197, 420; IV, 760, 909, 1041.)

THOMAS BECON (BEACON) (1512-1567), S.T.P., presented by the Queen ¹⁷~~18~~ Sept., 1559, to the prebend which Harpesfield had held and which was now 'void by statute.' (C.P.R. Eliz., I, 111.) Held the prebend until his death in 1567. Of Norfolk, B.A. (Cantab.), 1530, friend of John Bale (D.S. Bailey, Thomas Becon (Edinburgh, 1952), p. 6.), priest in Norwich diocese in 1532 (A.C., LXIX (1955), 160), one of the foremost Henrician protestant preachers, pamphleteers and propagandists and one of the first of the reformist clergy to marry. Had to go more or less under- ground in the latter years of Henry's reign, much of which time he spent in East Anglia and Kent. Protected in Kent by the leading gentry. Dedicated works written during this time to such Kent people as Sir Thomas Neville (ob. 1542), Richard Scott of Scott's Hall who himself wrote on witchcraft, Paul Johnson of Fordwich, Sir Richard Clement, Sir Thomas Wyatt, lord Cobham (ob. 1558), etc. (Ibid., p. 161; cf. Reg., pp. 1104, 1116 regarding Paul Johnson.) In exile for part of Henry's reign, but flourished in England under Edward VI. His sole interest was the refor- mist cause. Chaplain to Cranmer and six preacher in the cathedral, chaplain to

protector Somerset, in the Tower, 1553-54, in exile under Mary in Strassbourg, Marburg and Frankfort, supported the Coxians, wrote pamphlets to encourage the protestants remaining in England. Becon's books were banned and it was made a criminal offence to 'sell, read or keep' them. Held various London benefices after Elizabeth's accession. (DNB.) R. St. Dionis, Backchurch, London, 1563-67. (Reg., pp. 434, 525, 802.) V. Sturrey on pat. Parker, 1562-64. (Ibid., pp. 787, 806.)

Most of his Elizabethan career was spent right in Canterbury where he was resident, hospitable and licensed to preach. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 19.) Commissioned along with Nevinson and Butler by Parker to visit Eastbridge Hospital 18 Sept., 1561. (Reg., p. 380.) Interested in Roger Manwood's proposed school at Sandwich. Continued to write and republish earlier works; wrote about sixty different works, forty of which survive; 'penned little short of two million words'; ^{there} are sixty-six STC. entries under his name: contributed to the Homilies. His writings continued to be republished and popular into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (A.C., LXIX (1955), 164; DNB.; STC., 1710-1776.)

Though in favour of further reform, did not want to split the reformers over 'things indifferent' and conformed in 1563 to Parker's determination regarding vestments, ceremonies, etc. Certified to Parker the conformity of the practice in the cathedral. (Bailey, pp. 99, 102; C.C.C.C. MS./122, fos. 323-325.) Dedicated one of his first Elizabethan compositions, The Glorious Triumph of God's Most Blessed Word, to Parker 'as a testimonie and faithful obedience towarde your honour' and out of gratitude. (Bailey, p. 99.) Dedicated the 1564 edition of his works to all the bishops and archbishops in order to encourage them to further reform and preaching. (Ibid., p. 100.) Died at Canterbury leaving three children; the two boys, Theodore and Basil, later distinguished themselves in Kent, one as a medical doctor, the other as a divine. (DNB.; H.B. Thomas, 'Thomas Becon,

Canon of Canterbury', A.C., LXIX (1955), 159-70; T. Becon, Works, 3 vols., ed. J. Ayre, PPS (Cambridge, 1843-4). Bailey, op.cit., is very significant; will: Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/30, fo. 495.)

JOHN BUNGAY (BUNGEY) (ob. 1595), M.A., S.T.P., col. 2 July, 1567, Thomas Becon ob. (Reg., pp. 482, 833.) Retained the benefice until his death in 1595. (Fasti, I, 50; Will: P.C.C./1596/6, 16 Drake.) Born in the 'cittie of Norwich' (Ibid.), adm. pensioner at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1550, B.A. 1558, M.A. 1561. Fellow of Corpus 1557-8, was ordained deacon and priest in Norwich diocese 26 Mar., 1558. (Venn, AC., I, i, 254.) In 1569 he lived part of the time in Canterbury in his prebend, part of the time at his Chartham rectory, dispensed hospitality in Canterbury and had preached sixteen times in the previous year within the diocese. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60. fo. 207.) Parker wrote to Burghley in 1573 that 'Mr. Bungey also would be glad to have your lordship in his lodging, where the French cardinal lay, and his house is fair and sufficient.' (Corresp., p. 442.)

Parker was Bungay's consistent patron. 1 June, 1563, col. by lapse V. of Grantchester, Ely diocese, a benefice which he held until 1564 (Reg., p. 802; Venn, loc.cit.), 16 Jan., 1565, col. R. Chartham, Canterbury diocese, which he held until his death (Reg., p. 802; Venn, loc. cit.), described as 'our chaplain', granted 20 Nov., 1565, by Parker a dispensation to hold two benefices in plurality. (P.R.O./S.P./12/76, fo. 34v.) 20 March, 1566, col. R. Lachington and Lalling, Essex, John Puyasant ob., benefices which Bungay res. sometime before 27 Jan., 1574. (Reg., pp. 462, 824, 1111.) 19 June, 1567, col. to sixth prebend which he held very briefly. (Ibid., p. 832.) In June, 1567, Bungay acted as proxy for the archbishop (Reg., p. 832); in 1570 Parker ordered Bungay and others 'to make a vewe and survey

of all and singuler howses, stables, and other roomes' belonging to the cathedral and lying within the precincts of the close. (Ibid., p. 541.) In the same year Bungay was a witness to the act of confirmation of the election of Grindal to be archbishop of York. (Ibid., p. 137.) 15 Jan., 1574, Parker col. Bungay, whom he called 'our domestic chaplain', R. of Lambeth, John Matchett res. 7 June, 1575, Bungay sat with Yale and others of the cathedral chapter in judgment of an archiepiscopal matter, sede vacante. (Ibid., pp. 1111-1112, 1190.)

Parker had been sent to Cambridge in 1522 at the instance of a 'Mri. Bunge' of the parish of St. George, Norwich, though at the expense of his own mother. (Corresp., p. 481.) John Bungay married a niece of Parker. (Venn, AC., I, i, 254.) To Parker's son, John, Bungay bequeathed a copy of A. Ortelius's of Antwerp atlas, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, and Bungay made John an overseer of his will.

Calvinist overtones completely absent from the long religious preamble to will, but preamble showed great concern about orthodox dogma and about the importance of preaching and teaching. Bequeathed gold rings to Whitgift, to bishop suffragan Richard Rogers, and to Rogers's family. Held several long leases from the archbishop and the cathedral, which leases he bequeathed to his children. (P.C.C./1596/6, 16 Drake.)

(v) CANONS IN THE FIFTH PREBEND.

RALPH JACKSON, S.T.B., presented 21 Mar., 1554, Thomas Willoughby depriv. (C.P.R. Mary, II, 35; Fasti, I, 51; Woodruff, Cal. I.S.V., p. 25.) Held the prebend in 1556 and on 1 Aug., 1559. 6 Aug., 1559, acted as a witness to the archbishop's consent to election, but I find no further mention of him as prebend^{ary} in the relevant sources. (Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fo. 32; Reg., pp. 21, 27.) By 1560

Thomas Willoughby again held the prebend. (Ibid., p. 631.)

Matriculated pensioner Christ's, Cambridge, 1549. (Venn, AC., I, ii, 457.)
26 Oct., 1556, presented R. Hornsey, pat. crown. (C.P.R. Mary, II, 367.) As 'the King and Queen's chaplain', appointed 3 Nov., 1556, master for life of the newly-restored Savoy chapel and hospital. Apparently held the mastership until his death. (Ibid., III, 543-44, correcting dates given in Venn, loc.cit.) R. St. Clement Danes, London, 1557-59. Will made in 1559. (Ibid.)

THOMAS WILLOUGHBY, M.A., had been deprived by Mary but was prebendary again by 17 Sept., 1560. (Reg., p. 631.) Had probably been restored by the royal visitors. Held the prebend throughout Parker's administration and perhaps until his death in 1585. (Fasti, I, 51, correcting the first name to 'Thomas'.) Chaplain to Elizabeth in 1558. R. Bishopsbourne-cum-Barham 1559-1575.

Studied theology in Oxford for ten years; B.D. in 1572. (Foster, AO., I, iv, 1651.) Described in 1561 as a priest, married, learned, resident and hospitable at Canterbury and licensed to preach. Claimed also to be resident in his rectory. Had a dispensation to hold two benefices in plurality. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 19, 22.) He continued to preach and to dispense hospitality in Canterbury. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207.) By 1569 he also held a rectory in the diocese of Wells, and Dychatt rectory in Salisbury diocese. He was made precentor of Chichester in 1570, pat. Queen, and dean of Rochester in 1574. (Ibid.; Foster, loc.cit.; Venn, AC., I, 423.) Was drawing an annual income of £122 2s 2d from his three benefices in 1569 but when he died in 1585 he left a very small estate comprising a few pounds cash and a small house. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207; P.C.C./1585/4 Windsor.)

(vi) CANONS IN THE SIXTH PREBEND.

ROBERT COLLYNS, Ll.B., presented 4 April, 1554, by the crown, Edmund Cranmer,

depriv. (C.P.R. Mary, I, 222; Fasti, I, 53.) Still a prebendary 1 Aug., 1559. (Reg., p. 21.), but had been deprived by 14 Feb., 1560. (Ibid., p. 770.)

B.A. (Oxon.), 1512, M.A., 1516, B.C.L. and B. Can. L., 1522. (Foster, A0., I, i, 309.) Cranmer's commissary general for the city and diocese of Canterbury in 1537. (Cranmer, Remains, 468-69.) Posed as a zealous reformer under Edward VI. (A.C., XXXI (1915), 94-95.) Appointed commissary general for the city and diocese of Canterbury by cardinal Pole 27 March, 1556. (Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fo. 16.) 25 April, 1556, placed by the crown on the Marian equivalent of the high commission for the diocese of Canterbury. (C.P.R. Mary, III, 24-25; cf. 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 3.) Specially commissioned along with Harpesfield, Fawcett, Turnbull, Milles, Glasier and Warrener by Pole to proceed against heretics. (Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fos. 29-30.) Rigorous prosecutor and persecutor of protestants. (Ibid., fos. 17-18, 29-31.)

ALEXANDER NOWELL (1507(?) - 1602), M.A., S.T.P., col. 14 Feb., 1560, Robert Collyns depriv. (Reg., p. 770.) Described in 1561 as S.T.P., a priest, married, learned, resident and hospitable at Canterbury and also dean of St. Paul's. (C.C.C.C. MS. /580, fo. 19.) Res. before 1 May, 1564. (Reg., p. 806.) Col. R. Saltwood with Hithe chapel, 6 Feb., 1560, Harpesfield depriv. Res. before 2 Jan., 1561. (Ibid., pp. 387, 769, 777.)

Born and went to school in Lancashire. His mother came from Rochdale where the archbishops of Canterbury had large estates and had the advowson of the parish church. B.A. (Oxon.), 1536, M.A., 1540, possibly 'chamber-fellow of John Foxe at Brasenose', ordained in 1543, Greek master at Westminster School, Edwardian preacher, present at the deathbed of Dr. John Redman, rejected as M.P. in 1553 propter

his clerical status, in exile at Strasbourg and at Frankfort where he sided with the Knoxians. Subscribed to the 'new discipline' in 1557. (DNB.; Foster; AO., I, iii, 1081.)

Royal visitor for Elizabeth in the summer of 1559. Made archdeacon of Middlesex in 1559, commissioned, 17 Sept., 1560, along with three others, by Parker as one of his metropolitical visitors. Chaplain to Grindal and dean of St. Paul's, 1560-1602. Col. R. Great Hadlam by Grindal in 1562, res. 1585. Was member of the ecclesiastical commission in 1562, (P.R.O./C./66/978, m6d) and in 1572 (P.R.O./C./66/1089, m 25d.) In trouble with the Queen in 1562 for apparent religious conservatism, in trouble with her again in 1564 for religious radicalism. Initially in favour of ending the use of copes, surplices, and kneeling at communion; later changed his mind and wrote a tract favouring the retention of the surplice etc., and urging conformity. Wrote against papal practices. Wrote an important catechism which was approved by the 1563 convocation and appeared in various editions and translations during and after Nowell's lifetime. (DNB.; A. Nowell, Catechism, PPS (Cambridge, 1853).) Worked very closely with Parker in the 1560's, played an important part in the convocation of 1563, attended deathbed and preached funeral sermon of Roger Ascham in 1568, attended the duke of Norfolk (at the duke's request) at his execution in 1572, commissioner in 1574 for the trial of two Flemish anabaptists 'who were burnt as heretics', signed the high commission warrant for the arrest of Cartwright. Recommended Grindal as Parker's successor in the archbishopric (DNB.) Endowed schools and wrote their statutes.

One of the most industrious divines, writers and preachers in Elizabethan England, dean Nowell's biography occupies over twelve columns in DNB. He was greatly loved and respected as a spiritual counsellor and had more than a dozen books dedicated to him. (F.R. Williams, Index of Dedications (London, 1962), p. 137;

Will: P.C.C./1602/11 Montague.)

JOHN PORY, M.A., D.D., adm. 1 May, 1564, Nowell res. (Fasti, I, 53.) Res. in 1567 in order to take a prebend in Westminster. (Reg., pp. 449, 806; C.P.R. Eliz., IV, 144.) From Northamptonshire, adm. to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1520. B.A. (Cantab.), 1524, M.A., 1527, B.D., 1535, D.D., 1557. Parker was often his patron, and in 1563 he was among Parker's chaplains. (Reg., p. 803.) Fellow of Corpus, 1534, master, 1557-69, vice-chancellor of Cambridge in 1558. Held several other benefices besides this Canterbury prebend in the 1560's, including Lambeth rectory and an Ely prebend, but never more than three at a time and no others within the diocese of Canterbury. (Reg., pp. 720, 803, 805, 806, 832, 862, et passim.)

Took a prominent part in hosting the Queen at Cambridge in 1564 at which time he took part in a disputation the thesis of which was 'major est scripturae quam ecclesiae auctoritas'---the same act in which Thomas Cartwright took part. Prepared the library at Corpus for the anticipated bequest by Parker of his manuscripts. Forced out of the mastership by Parker in 1570 and in the same year resigned all his preferments. (DNB.; Foster, AO., I, iii, 1184; Venn, AC., I, iii, 383; A.F.S Pearson, Cartwright (Cambridge, 1925); Will: P.C.C./1570/13/23 Lyon.)

JOHN BUNGAY, M.A., adm. 19 June, 1567, Pory res. Bungay res. before 26 July, 1567. (Fasti, I, 53; supra, fourth prebend.)

JOHN HILL (ob. 1595), S.T.B., adm. 26 July, 1567. Appears that he had exchanged his Westminster prebend with John Pory for this one. Held the prebend until his death in 1595. (Fasti, I, 53; C.P.R. Eliz., IV, 144.) B.A. (Oxon.), 1550, M.A.,

1555, B. Mde., 1560, S.T.B., 1561, col. R. Lydd 12 Nov., 1573. (Foster, AO., I, ii, 710; Reg., pp. 1075, 1111.)

In 1569 Hill's Canterbury prebend and two rectories outside of the diocese (Aldermary and Chidingston) were giving him an annual revenue of £109 11s 3d. He lived in Canterbury and dispensed hospitality there. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207.) Cathedral treasurer at least during part of the administrations of Grindal and Whitgift, Hill seems to have been more interested in his own and the cathedral's finances than he was in religion. For, example, he preached only four times in the year before 1569, and his will, after a very brief preamble in which he commended his soul 'into the hands of almighty God', was devoted entirely to financial arrangements. The will revealed that Hill had withheld bequests from both his own and his step-children. Had several small holdings in Kent at his death. Left his books to be divided equally between his sons Jonas and Joseph. (Cathedral Muni-ments; P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207; P.C.C./1595/31 Scott.)

(vii) CANONS IN THE SEVENTH PREBEND.

HUGH GLASIER (ob. 1559), B.D., appointed by the charter of incorporation in 1542. Had been a canon of the old foundation since 1535. Held the benefice until his death in early 1559. (Fasti, I, 54; C.P.R. Eliz., I, 103.) A minorite friar, B.D., 1535, commissary general of Calais under Henry VIII, and was on Marian heresy commission for the diocese of Canterbury. (Foster, AO., I, ii, 571; Lambeth MS./'Reg-istrum Poli', fos. 29-30.)

JOHN BUTLER (1510(?)-1570), Ll.B., presented 12 May, 1559, Glazier ob., and held the benefice until his death in 1570. (C.P.R. Eliz., I, 103; Fasti, I, 54.) Men of these names attended both Oxford and Cambridge during the relevant periods.

(Venn, AC., I, i, 272; Foster, AO., I, i, 222. Was Cranmer's commissary general at Calais from at least 1533 until 1539. Seems to have been actively on the side of the reformers there though he was vehemently opposed to those who denied the real presence. Kept Cranmer informed about religious controversies. Sent to the Fleet prison in 1539 perhaps because he was too radical for Henry VIII's liking at that date. (Cranmer, Remains, PPS, 275n, 277, 334, 348, 373, 391n.)

Described in 1561 as Ll.B., priest, married, learned, resident at Canterbury, hospitable, did not preach nor was he licensed, and held two benefices. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 19.) By 1569 he held this prebend, a prebend in one of the Welsh cathedrals, Brandonferry rectory in Suffolk and, within the diocese of Canterbury, Minster vicarage and Kingsdown rectory. The combined annual income of his five benefices was £105 6s 8d. He still lived at Canterbury and provided hospitality for the poor there. On account of old age (he was about sixty) he no longer preached but paid another to preach twelve times in the previous year in the diocese in his stead. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207.) In his will Butler committed his soul to 'allmightie God my creator & maker & unto Jhesus Chryste my redeemer & saviour by whose onely meryttes, death and passion I steadfastlie beleve to be saved & to reste with God my savyor as also to the Holy Ghoste my conforter three personnes & one God to whom be all honor & glory for ever.' Butler bequeathed his 'gowne faced with grograyne' to six preacher Simon Clark. He also left bequests to prebendary Theodore Newton's children, to the poor, to his servants, and to his family. By far the largest part of his estate was, however, at Calais and thus most of the bequests carry the codicil 'yf ever Callyce be Englysshe'. (P.C.C./1571/17 Holney.)

ANTHONY RODOLPH CHEVALIER (1523-1572), adm. 27 Jan., 1570, pat. Anthony Cooke p.h.v. from the crown, with a stall in the choir and a voice in the chapter, Butler ob.

(Reg., p. 859; Fasti, I, 54.) 15 March, 1569, the crown had granted to Sir Anthony and William Cooke the advowson of whichever of the next prebends in the crown's gift fell vacant and they were licensed to 'present Ralph Cavelarius, professor of sacred letters and the Hebrew tongue.' (C.P.R. Eliz., IV, 395.)' Held the benefice until his death in 1572. A Frenchman of noble blood, Chevalier studied at Paris and became one of the greatest Hebraists and protestants of his day. Close friend of Bucer and Fagius, one of the foreign protestants who were so influential in Edwardian England, lived with Cranmer for a year, was recommended for a pension to Edward VI by Cranmer (Cranmer, Remains, 435-437), taught Princess Elizabeth French. At Strasbourg 1553-1559, knew Calvin (Zurich Letters 1558-1602, p. 97), eventually settled at Caen. Returned to England in 1568 to get Elizabeth's assistance for the French protestants. Became Hebrew professor at Cambridge in 1569 at the recommendation of Parker and Grindal. (Corresp., p. 349.) Got a dispensation in 1572 to be absent from his prebend for two years and returned to France. Died in Guernsey fleeing after St. Bartholomew's. Remembered Parker with gratitude at time of death. (DNB.; Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigiensis, I, 305-306, 539.)

JOHN WINTER, succeeded Chevalier. Absent at Parker's 1573 visitation of the cathedral. (Reg., pp. 905, 906.) Died in 1606. (Fasti, I, 54.)

(viii) CANONS IN THE EIGHTH PREBEND.

JOHN WARREN (WARRUM), presented 20 May, 1554, admitted 21 May, Peter Alexander being deprived. Held the benefice until his death in 1558. Probably a Benedictine. Was B. Can. L in 1532, B.D. in 1538, and his will was proved 13 Oct., 1558. (C.P.R. Mary, I, 306; Fasti, I, 56; Foster, AO., I, iv, 1572, 1575, sub, Warham and Warren.)

JOHN KNIGHT, M.A. (?), held the prebend on 1 Aug., 1559, but not in September, 1560. (Reg., pp. 19-21, 631; Fasti, I, 56.) Col. R. Great Hardres, at which time he was domestic chaplain to Pole, on 2 April, 1558, Richard Thorneden ob. (Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fo. 77v.) Marian rector of Great Chart, but did not appear in that capacity at visitations, and was deprived before 25 June, 1560. (Harpes., p. 321; Cant. MS./Z/3/5, fos. 150v, 172v; Reg., p. 772.) Probably B.A. (Oxon.), 1530, M.A., 1533; may also have attended Cambridge. (Foster, AO., I, ii, 861; Venn, AC., I, iii, 29.)

HENRY GOODRICH (GODRYCKE, etc.), S.T.D., held the benefice in 1560. (Reg., p. 631.) B.A. (Cantab.), 1513, M.A. (Oxon.), 1515, S.T.D. by 1561. Had engaged in 'reformat preaching' under Henry VIII. Described in 1561 as a doctor of theology, a priest, married, learned, sometimes resident and hospitable at Canterbury, did not preach, held no other benefices. (Venn, AC., I, ii, 236; B.M. MS. Cotton/Cleopatra /E/v, fos. 397-8; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 19.)

STEPHEN NEVINSON, M.A., D.C.L., presented 23 Nov., 1562, Peter Alexander ob. (C.P.R. Eliz., II, 531; Fasti, I, 56; P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207.) Born at Carlisle, was a cousin of Cranmer's commissary general, Christopher Nevinson (Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/24, fos. 62-66v), scholar from King's School, Canterbury, B.A. (Cantab.), 1545, M.A., 1548, Ll.D., 1553, at Oxford he was the very stimulating tutor of poet George Gascoigne, royal visitor in 1559, described in 1561 as the holder of the third, not the eighth, prebend, and as a priest, married, learned, resident, and hospitable at Canterbury, licensed to preach, and held one other benefice. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 19.) Was official of the archdeacon of Canterbury by 10 December, 1559

(Maidstone MS./P.R.C./3/15, fo. 146.), and was commissary general from 1560 to 1563. (Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/28, fos. 1-2v.) Ord. priest at London in 1561, commissioned with Alexander Nowell by Parker in 1560 to reform the detecta of the visitation which Parker had just completed, and was commissioned in 1561 by Parker to collect money for the re-building of St. Paul's. Commissioned by Parker to visit, with Bacon and Butler, Eastbridge hospital. Vicar general of Norwich diocese 1566-69. (Venn, AC., I, iii, 244; Fasti, II, 496.) 9 Oct., 1569, commissioned by the crown to reform disorders in Norwich cathedral. (P.R.O./Ind./16772, fo. 226.) In 1570 he was commissioned with four others to survey Canterbury cathedral property, and to determine how the construction of a school and common hall could be expedited. Was appointed to arbitrate a quarrel among cathedral personnel, and, with Lawse, to examine and to certify to Parker which ^cpeticanons, vicars choral and singing men were 'suspectid in religion'. (DNB.: Venn, loc. cit.: Reg., pp. 353-57, 378-82, 541-43.)

R. of Saltwood-cum-Hythe, 1561-80, on pat. Parker. (Reg., p. 777.) As D.C.L. and R. of Saltwood, was granted by Parker on 26 April, 1565 a dispensation to hold two benefices in plurality. (P.R.O./S.P./12/76, fo. 21.) In 1569 he was said to be usually resident and hospitable at Canterbury, though he had recently been in Norwich. He had preached eighteen times in the previous year. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207.) Granted another dispensation as a pluralist in 1571. (DNB.) R. Westbere, 1571-80, on pat. Queen, former R. ob. (Reg., pp. 875, 1026.) 19 Aug., 1577, presented R. Romalldkirke, diocese not named, by the Queen, (P.R.O./C./3, fo. 52v.)

Spoke in the 1562-63 convocation in favour of further reforms, but in the end was on the side of conformity. (DNB.) His relatives knew Henry Wolfe, the son of the protestant printer. (Cant. MS./X/10/17, fos. 51-51v.) He possessed some of Cranmer's MSS., and Parker enlisted the privy council in order to retrieve those

MSS. from Nevinson. (Corresp., pp. 186-87, 191-92, 195-96; Lambeth MS./F/1 (Arches Muniment Book), fos. 91-96, et passim,; B.M. MSS./Royal/7B/XI and /7B/XII; DNB.)

Will made as D.C.L. and prebendary of Canterbury 31 Dec., 1579, and proved 12 Oct., 1581. Left his estate to his wife Elizabeth, his servant Richard Burbank and to his cousins John and Thomas Nevinson. Made 'Mr. Doctor Bullen, dean of... Lychefeilde' his sole executor. (Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/34, fos. 166-166v.)

PETER ALEXANDER, adm. 14 April, 1551, deprived by Mary and restored by Elizabeth. Held the benefice by 29 July, 1560, at which time he was licensed to be non-resident permanently on account of his linguistic abilities. Held the benefice until his death in 1562. (C.P.R. Eliz., I, 422.) The dean and chapter decided that ~~f~~14, which Parker had received in fees for episcopal consecrations, should go to Peter Alexander in settlement of money owing him when he fled Mary and because, having a faculty, he was not to be penalized for non-residence. (Cant. MS./'Acta Capituli, 1561-68', fo. 5v.)

Born near Arles, Alexander became a Carmelite and then became a convert to protestantism in 1511 and fled to the Low Countries. Condemned to be burned in 1545, Alexander fled to England during the reign of Edward VI. Was, in 1550, involved in the Hooper controversy over vestments. (C. Hopf, Martin Bucer (Oxford, 1956), pp. 12, 27, 49, 169.) Fled from England to Strasbourg and Switzerland. He met Calvin with whose theology he agreed, but with whose dictatorial methods he disagreed. On Elizabeth's accession to the throne he returned to England where 'il fut mêlé aux querelles qui troublèrent l'Église de Londres.' Was a good teacher and preacher. (Dictionnaire de Biographie Française, ed. Balteau, Barroux et Prevost, I (Paris, 1933), 1466 and bibliography there: Actes du Consistoire de L'Eglise Francais de Threadneedle Street, ed. E. Johnson (Frome, 1937).) Wrote a

treatise in 1552 supporting the doctrine of predestination. Parker later owned the MS. (C.C.C.C. MS./115.) Wrote a treatise in 1553 on ecclesiastical discipline. (B.M. MS./Addit./48,040.) He was, in general, a rather quarrelsome, disputatious Calvinist.

(ix) CANONS IN THE NINTH PREBEND.

HUGH TURNBULL, M.A., S.T.D., S.T.P., presented 30 March, 1555, pat. crown, William Devenish depriv. (Fasti, I, 57; Woodruff, Cal. I.S.V., p. 25.) Held the prebend until his death in 1566. B.A. (Oxon.), 1536, M.A., 1539, B.D., 1545. Held various ecclesiastical promotions from 1543 onwards. Was a canon of Salisbury in 1562 and the dean of Chichester from 1558 to 1566. Sometimes resident and hospitable in his Canterbury prebend, sometimes at Chichester; was a priest, not married, learned, did not preach in public and was said, in 1561, to hold no other benefices. (Foster, AO., I, 1518; Reg., pp. 21, 631, 634, 670; C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 19; Fasti, I, 57, 257.)

GEORGE BOLEYN (BULLEN), M.A., presented 17 Dec., and adm. 21 Dec., 1566, pat. Queen, Hugh Turnbull, S.T.P., ob. Held the prebend until death in 1603. (C.P.R. Eliz., IV, 66; Fasti, I, 57.) Related to the Queen. Probably the son of baron Rochford^a. Student of Whitgift at Cambridge. B.A. (Cantab.), 1553, M.A., 1559, B.D., 1567, D.D., 1576. Ord. deacon 1563. Held various benefices outside of the diocese of Canterbury and became dean of Lichfield in 1576. (DNB.; Venn, AC., I, i, 174.)

In 1568, Parker complained that Boleyn was among the five prebendaries who wanted to collect their 'whole profits' although they were non-resident, and Parker indicated that they did so because the Queen used the prebends as pay for her

chaplains. Perhaps Boleyn was a royal chaplain. (Corresp., p. 319.) In 1569 Boleyn was non-resident and living in Cambridge, did not furnish hospitality in his role as prebend and had in the previous year preached only once in person in the diocese of Canterbury. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207.) 6 May, 1570, Elizabeth granted George Bullen a licence for unlimited non-residence as far as his Canterbury prebend was concerned. The court of faculties was not involved---the grant was simply a personal one from the Queen. (Cant. MS./Reg. V³ (1567-69), fo. 92.) Years later Boleyn maintained that the Queen 'gave me all that ever I have [had and] her subiectes gave me nothing'. (P.C.C./1603/1 Bolein.) Boleyn was at Berwick in 1570. (Reg., p. 538.)

One of the most colourful of the prebendaries, Boleyn was often in trouble. It was reported to Parker in 1573 that Boleyn had threatened to pin dean Godwyn to the wall, that he had struck prebendary King, had tried to strike prebendary Rush, had struck another prebendary and had beaten a lawyer. (Reg., pp. 916-17.) He was also credited with having chased one of the cathedral officials up a tree. In later years he was one of the objects of abuse of Martin Marprelate who referred to Boleyn's dog 'Spring'. He entered into an acrimonious dispute with bishop Aylmer (DNB.), and, as his will stated, had considerable trouble retaining his various benefices. In his will he catalogued his friends (among whom he included Whitgift, Sir Thomas Egerton, lord chamberlain Hunsdon, Sir John Fortesque, Sir William Knowles, and Sir Thomas Weston) and castigated his enemies. He concluded his will by saying: 'I do forgive all the people in the world'. (Ibid.; P.C.C./1603/1 Bolein.)

(x) CANONS IN THE TENTH PREBEND.

JOHN MILLES (WARHAM), S.T.B., named to a prebend in the charter of incorporation

of 3 April, 1542. Held it until his death in 1564. (Fasti, I, 58.) One of the 'electors' of Parker, 1 Aug., 1559. One of the seven resident canons in 1560 at which time he said he had three benefices with cure of souls in the diocese of Canterbury 'and hath dispensation but for two onelie.' (Reg., pp. 20, 21, 631, 635, 637, 639.) Described in 1569 as B. Theol., a priest, not married, resident at Canterbury, hospitable, learned, preached rarely, held two other benefices. (C.C. MS./580, fo. 19.) R. of Chartham from 1556 until his death. In 1561 he was said to be resident and hospitable in the benefice and was said, though not licensed, to preach within his cure. (Ibid., fo. 22; Harpes., pp. 300-347; Reg., p. 810.) At Ringwold, his other benefice which he held until his death, he was non-resident and preached but rarely. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 23; Cant. MS./X/1/3, fo. 116v; Reg., p. 816.) Mille's will, aside from the short affirmation of faith in the essentials of orthodoxy, indicated that his whole interest was in the cathedral, in Kent, and in education. He made his cousin Anthony Rush (the headmaster of King's School) one of his executors and left him a gold ring, a velvet doublet, his best gown and Rush's choice of Milles's 'bookes of divinity'. Milles left wheat for the members of the King's School and 10s for Valentine Austyn, the younger, 'late my schollar.' Besides Rush, Milles left bequests to many of the members of the cathedral including 'Master Saintleger', Dr. Hugh Turnbull, 'Sir William Browne, gospellar' and 'Master Thomas Fisher, sumtyme petty canon of this church.' He made William Lovelace overseer of his will and left bequests for many of Kent's important people including masters Alday, Bingham, Hyde and Engeham. These bequests, plus his gifts to the poor, to prisoners, to his three households servants, etc., indicate that Milles died the possessor of a goodly estate. (Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/30, fos. 177-82.)

WILLIAM KINGE (c. 1532-1590), M.A., presented 19 Jan., 1565, pat. John Tamworth, gent., p.h.v. from the crown, Milles ob. Kinge held this benefice until his death in 1590. (C.P.R. Eliz., III, 86; Reg., p. 810; Fasti, I, 58.) Born in London, B.A. (Cantab.), 1553, M.A. 1556, B.D. 1570. (Venn, AC., I, iii, 21.) Col. V. Appledore, 22 Feb., 1569. R. Kingston, pat. Wm. Ager (Aucher), gent., 1570-74. (Reg., pp. 569, 845, 860, 1112.) Held other benefices including a Windsor prebend, 1572-90, and a chaplaincy to the Queen. (Venn, loc. cit.) In the 1560's the city of Canterbury had trouble with prebendary King because he did not keep his buildings in order. Parker complained in 1568 about his non-residence. In 1569 Kinge's annual revenue from the Canterbury prebend, Appledore, Westham and Attilburg (the latter two being outside of Canterbury diocese) was £127 17s 5d. Kinge was resident at Canterbury where he dispensed hospitality and had, in the previous year, preached ten sermons in the diocese. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207.) King left bequests of jewels, plate, personal goods and about £350 in cash and at least two leases. Most of his bequests were to his wife and brothers, but he also left £10 to each of Thomas Becon's sons, Theodore and Basil, and his books, and left £5 to 'Mistress Jane Lylly, widow.' (P.C.C./1590/63 Drury.)

(xi) CANONS IN THE ELEVENTH PREBEND.

THOMAS WOOD, S.T.B., presented to the prebend, formerly held by Bernardino Ochino, 2 April, 1559. (Fasti, I, 59.) Wood depriv. sometime before 10 Jan., 1560. (C.P.R. Eliz., I, 254.) A Franciscan friar, B.D. (Cantab.), 1536, held several benefices under Mary and was her chaplain, Deprived of all offices shortly after Elizabeth's accession. Died in prison in 1575. (Another Thomas Wood continued as V. Hougham, Dover d. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 24.).) (Venn, AC., I, iv, 454-55; Foster, AO., I, iv, 1672; C.P.R. Mary, I, 222, 276, 305.)

JOHN BALE (1495-1563), S.T.P., presented 10 Jan., 1560, Wood depriv. (C.P.R. Eliz., I, 254.) Held the benefice until his death in 1563. (Fasti, I, 60.) Went to school in Norwich, B.D. (Cantab.), 1529, Henrician exile on account of marriage, bishop of Ossory, 1552-53, Marian exile. (Venn, AC., I, i, 75; Garrett, pp. 77-78.) One of the most famous of the Tudor antiquaries, and an intrepid protestant propagandist. Playwright in early life, and used that talent for propaganda purposes at Canterbury in May, 1560. (Cant. MS./X/10/7, fos. 36-38.) In the autumn of 1560 conservative 'Mr. John Ugden' said while drinking with John Twyne that Bale was a heretic and his son a bastard---statements which involved Ugden and Bale in a slander suit. (Ibid., fos. 136v-141.) Bale was accused at Canterbury of harbouring an unmarried couple. (Cant. MS./X/1/4, fo. 62.) In 1561 he was resident and hospitable at Canterbury, had no other benefices, and did not preach. (C.C.C.C. MS. /580, fo. 19.) Parker planned to get Bale's MSS. for Cecil. (Corresp., p. 198.) (DNB.; Will: Maidstone MS./P.R.C./43/6, fo. 1.)

ANDREW PEARSON (ob. 1594), M.A., S.T.B., presented Nov. 1563, John Bale ob. Parker, in spite of some trouble over technicalities, persuaded the Queen to grant this prebend to Pearson. Pearson held it until his death in 1594. (C.P.R. Eliz., III, 84; Reg., p. 803; Corresp., pp. 197-99; V.J.K. Brook, Parker (Oxford, 1962), p. 154; Fasti, I, 60.) A student at Corpus Christi Cambridge, B.A. (Cantab.) 1542, M.A., 1545. (DNB.). Fellow, proctor and auditor of Corpus; 1552-53 a clergyman serving in Cambridge; ejected by Mary for continuing to use the Edwardian communion service; Parker's chaplain and almoner. (DNB.) Frequently assisted the archbishop in consecrations etc. (Reg., pp. 27, 80, 88, 92, 102, 103, 105, 118, 124, 127, 137, 329.) Took part in the convocation of 1563. Assisted with the translation of four of the books of the Old Testament in the Bishops' Bible of 1566. (DNB.; Corresp., p. 334.)

Col. R. Great Chart in 1560, and res, within a year. (Reg., pp. 772, 781, 784.)
 8 July, 1562, described as R. Waltham-cum-Stansted within the archbishop's peculiar jurisdiction at which time he was given a dispensation by the archbishop to hold two benefices in plurality. (P.R.O./S.P./12/76, fo. 23.) Col. R. Brasted, and archiepiscopal peculiar, in 1562, and R. Ivychurch in 1563. (Reg., pp. 787, 801.)
 Granted 'the Court\eleedge House' by the crown as a parsonage at Wrotham in 1564. (C.P.R. Eliz., III, 112.) One of Parker's diocesan visitors in 1569. (Reg., pp. 527, 577.) In 1569, Pearson's combined annual income from Brasted, Ivychurch, the Canterbury prebend and Wrotham R. was £145 16s 10½d. Pearson was said to be resident and hospitable in Canterbury and to have preached ten sermons the year before. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207.) For a 20s fee, Pearson obtained a licence for non-residence on 14 Jan. 1571. (Lambeth MS./723, fo. 37v.) Appeared in person before the archiepiscopal visitors in 1573. (Reg., p. 911.) Owned a 'fine house' at which he entertained Burghley, at Parker's suggestion, in Sept. 1573 when the Queen was on a progress. (Corresp., pp. 442, 444.) One of Parker's executors (P.C.C./1575/39 Rych.) Held Hardres R. 1580-82, and Harbledowne after 1589. (DNB.)

Pearson possessed several leases at his death, at least three of which had been let to him by the dean and chapter of the cathedral, plus several buildings in the city of Canterbury. Bequeathed most of his estate to his wife Jane and his son Andrew. He had a collection of clocks and watches, maps of the Low Countries, Spain, France, Germany, 'Newe Spayne', Europe, 'Gretia', the world, 'a mappe of learned men', a 'paynted table of St. Hierone', and pictures of John Foxe, of 'Justice', of the 'Bishops' arms', of the royal arms, of 'bishop Parker' and of the Queen. Neither in his will nor in the inventory of his household goods was there any men-

tion of books, and a javelin and a dagger were all that were found in his study.
(Maidstone MSS./P.R.C./32/37, fos. 201v-202v; /P.R.C./21/13, fos. 207-213v.)

(xii) CANONS IN THE TWELFTH PREBEND.

RICHARD FAWCETT, S.T.B., Queen's chaplain, presented the prebend having been held by John Joseph, 23 Mar., 1554. Still a prebendary in August, 1559. Deprived sometime before 9 July, 1560. (C.P.R. Mary, I, 223; ibid., Eliz., I, 429; Reg., pp. 21, 772; Fasti, I, 61.) V. Herne, Canterbury diocese (?), 1554. (C.P.R. Mary, I, 407; II, 24-25.) On quorum of heresy commission for the diocese of Canterbury, 25 April, 1556. (Ibid.) Depriv. R. Lypne before 21 Sept., 1560. (Reg., p. 775.)

HENRY GOODRICH, S.T.B., adm. 10 July, 1560, pat. Queen, Fawcett depriv. Held the benefice until his death in 1566. (Reg., p. 772; Fasti, I, 61.) William Darrell was said to hold this prebend in 1561 (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 19), but this was either a mistake in the MS, or else Darrell and Goodrich had made a temporary exchange.

PAUL FRENCH, M.A., S.T.B., adm. 4 Sept., 1566, pat. Henry Alday p.h.v. from the Queen, Henry Goodriche ob. French held the benefice until his death in 1600. (Fasti, I, 61; C.P.R. Eliz., III, 321.) B.A. (Oxon.), 1542, M.A., 1545, fellow of All Souls, 1547. (Foster, AO., I, ii, 535.) Canon of Windsor, 1560-1600, was granted in 1566 a royal dispensation to hold in plurality the Canterbury and Windsor prebends 'with other ecclesiastical benefices; notwithstanding the constitutions or customs of the said churches established by Henry VIII or any other authority.' (C.P.R. Eliz., III, 420.) In 1569 he held four benefices: Little Wittenham, Berks, Boyton, Wilts.; and the two prebends. The combined annual income from all benefices was £134 9s

French resided and dispensed hospitality partly at Canterbury and partly at Windsor. He did not preach himself on account of a language barrier. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207. It is doubtful that P.C.C./1600/71 Wallopp is the will of this Paul French.)

APPENDIX II.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL 'SIX' PREACHERS.¹

ROBERT SEARLES, M.A., B.D., six preacher at the time of Elizabeth's accession, had been appointed by Cranmer in 1541, deprived in 1550, and restored in 1553. (C.E. Woodruff, Six Preachers of...the Cathedral...in Canterbury (Canterbury, 1926), p. 6; Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fo. 32.) B.A. (Oxon.), 1512, M.A., 1517, B.D., 1544, V. St. Peter's-in-the-East, Oxford, 1524, and V. Monckton. (Foster, AO., I, iii, 1330.). Also V. of Lenham and Charing under Cranmer. In 1543 organized, with others, a conspiracy to have Cranmer convicted of heresy. (Sister Mary Justine Peter, 'A Study of the Administration of the Henrician Act of Supremacy in Canterbury Diocese' (Loyola University Ph.D. thesis, 1959), p. 128; T. Cranmer, Remains, pp. 246, 248; C.C.C.C. MS./128, fos. 145-46; A.F. Pollard, Thomas Cranmer (London, 1905), pp. 145ff.) Probably resigned the preachership, as he resigned his other benefice, shortly after Elizabeth's accession. (Cant. MS./X/8/5, fo. 86.)

ROBERT HILL, S.T.P., appointed in 1555, pat. dean and chapter of Canterbury, sede vacante, and was a six preacher at the time of Elizabeth's accession. (Woodruff,

1. The six preachers were appointed by the archbishop except when the see was vacant, and had an annual stipend of £25 6s 8d. (C.C.C.C. MS./120, fo. 72; Sister Mary Justine Peter, op.cit., p. 128, passim; B.M. MS./Harl./1197, fo. 328v; P.R.O. /S.P./12/60, fo. 207v.)

Six Preachers, p. 7.) Had lost the benefice by Sept., 1560. (Reg., pp. 631-34.) Marian incumbent, pat. crown, of St. Mary Calais, Sandgate 'in the Marches of Calais in the diocese of Canterbury', and of Howf kirke in the diocese of Théroutanne. (C.P.R. Mary, III, 280, 360; ibid., ^{IV}III, 205.) Depriv. of a canonry in Winchester cathedral before 13 Nov., 1559. (C.P.R. Eliz., I, 18), depriv. R. of Old Romney before 13 Jan., 1560 (Reg., p. 768), depriv. V. of Lydd before 9 May, 1560. (Ibid., p. 771.) 17 May, 1555, col. V. Brookland, William Devenishe depriv. (Woodruff, Cal. I.S.V., p. 20.) 1555 col. V. Eastry, Thomas Sawyer res. (Ibid., p. 42.) Another Robert Hill adm. R. Crundale 1565. (Reg., p. 810.)

EDWARD BURNELL, B.D., appointed in 1557 at which time he was V. of Meopham. (Woodruff, Six Preachers, p. 7.) Declared contumacious by the archbishop's visitors in 1560 for failing to appear before the visitors in his capacity as a six preacher. (Reg., pp. 631, 634.) Excommunicated by the same visitors at Rochester a little later for not appearing before them as a prebendary of Rochester. Apparently lost or resigned the preachership as no more is heard of him in the diocese. (Reg., p. 662; DNB.)

NICHOLAS MORTON, S.T.B., appointed in 1557. (Woodruff, Six Preachers, p. 7.) No longer preacher in Sept., 1560. (Reg., pp. 631-34.) Col. R. Pluckley by Pole 22 Sept., 1558. (Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fo. 81v.) Deprived of his York prebend on Elizabeth's accession. (H. Gee, The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion (Oxford, 1898); Fasti.) lost Milton V. before 8 March, 1561. (Reg., p. 780)

THOMAS BURGESS, M.A., appointed to a preachership in 1558. Appointed V. Sittingbourne 4 June, 1558. Ob. in 1559. (C.P.R. Mary, ^{IV}III, 246; Woodruff, Six Preachers,

p. 7; Harpes., p. 328.)

ROBERT WILLERTON (WILLANTON), appointed to a preachership in 1555 by dean Wotton, sede vacante. Still a preacher at the time of Elizabeth's accession. (Woodruff, Six Preachers, p. 7), but not by Sept., 1560. (Reg., pp. 631-34.) Chaplain to Bonner who conferred with Bradford. (Bradford, Works, I, PPS, 86, 497.)

LANCELOT RIDLEY (ob. 1576), M.A. S.T.D., appointed six preacher in 1541, depriv. as a married priest 15 March, 1554, restored in 1559 and held the benefice until his death in 1576. (Woodruff, Six Preachers, p. 6; DNB.) Of ^NForthumberland, cousin of Nicholas Ridley, B.A. (Cantab.), 1522, M.A., 1525, B.D., 1537, D.D., 1541. Held various benefices from 1541 onwards. Depriv. under Mary because of marriage, but may have conformed later. Edwardian protestant preacher and biblical propagandist. None of his writings are of Elizabethan vintage. (Venn, AC., I, iii, 458; DNB.; STC., 21,038-21,043,) Recovered R. Stretham, Cambridge, in 1560. He did not reside at Canterbury and Parker's visitors in 1560 pronounced him contumacious for not appearing before them. (Reg., p. 631.) Described in 1561 as S.T.D., a priest, married, learned, not resident at Canterbury but at ⁱⁿEly and held three benefices. He was still non-resident in 1569, and did not preach nor dispense hospitality in Canterbury. Besides the preachership and Stretham, he held Blumtesham R. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 19v; P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207v.)

RICHARD (WILLIAM) TURNER, M.A., D.D., appointed a six preacher by Cranmer in the early 1540's, an exile under Mary, but had retrieved the benefice by 1560, and held it until his death in 1565. (DNB.; Reg., p. 631.) Died at Chartham in 1565.

(Bul. I.H.R., I, 96.) Extremely difficult to biograph partly because he is sometimes called 'William', sometimes 'Richard'. (Garrett, Marian Exiles, p. 313.) Born in Staffordshire, B.A. (Oxon.), 1524, D.D., 1552. Held other benefices in Cornwall, Essex, and Middlesex and was canon of Windsor, 1551-55. (Foster, AO., I, iv, 1521; C.P.R. Mary, I, 242; DNB.) Curate for Cranmer's biographer Ralph Morrice, accused with Cranmer in 1543 of heresy, preacher to rioters in Kent in 1549, gave John Marbeck the idea for a Bible concordance which Marbeck published in 1550, Marian exile in Basle where he lectured on the scriptures, and Frankfort, where he sided with the Coxians. (DNB.) Was in trouble for preaching in Canterbury cathedral in early 1559 when the crown had prohibited all preaching. (Cant. MS./Y/2/24, fo. 10v.) 13 Mar., 1560, appointed with another by Parker to hear cases of clergymen convicted before the justices of the peace in Rochester diocese. (Reg., p. 178.) Chosen by Parker or Yale as preacher for his 1560 visitations of the dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester. Held Dartford V. in Rochester diocese. (Reg., pp. 662, 667, 670.) Described in 1561 as 'Richard Turner', six preacher, M.A., priest, married, learned, not resident in Canterbury but in his London benefice which was his only other one. Wrote publishable books but none were in fact published. William Bullein in 1564 dedicated a medical book to Turner. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo 19v; DNB.; Williams, Index of Dedications, p. 186; STC, 4,036.)

RICHARD BESELEY (BISLEY, BEESLEY), S.T.B., appointed a six preacher in 1552, depriv. 1554, restored in 1559, held the preachership until his death in 1585. (Woodruff, Six Preachers, p. 7; Reg., pp. 635, 534; Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/35, fo. 168; Lambeth MS./Arches/F/1/A, fos. 100v-105, 182-183, 279v.) B.A. (Oxon.), 1532, M.A., 1535, B.D., 1540, D.D., 1548, fellow of All Souls' College. (Foster, AO., I, i,

117.) Chaplain to Henry VIII, very highly regarded by Thomas Cromwell who said of Beseley 'I owe him all'. R. of Cumnor, Berks., in 1541 and of Staplehurst, Canterbury diocese, both of which he lost under Mary but to which he was restored with the accession of Elizabeth. In exile with his wife and children at Frankfort, favoured the Knoxians and subscribed to the 'new discipline'. 'In 1562 he signed the articles altering rites and ceremonies...and also the petition for discipline...' (Garrett, Marian Exiles, pp. 85-86.) 16 Feb., 1561, witness in Lambeth chapel to the consecration of Horne as bishop of Winchester; also a witness to, and executor of, the will of one Humphrey Alcockeson who owned Geneva Bibles and was acquainted with Whitechurche the protestant printer. (Reg., pp. 105, 366.) Col. R. Sandhurst 27 Aug., 1560. (Ibid., pp. 773, 387.) Visitations preacher in 1560. (Reg., pp. 645, 646.) Described in 1561 as S.T.B., priest, married, well learned, lived at Canterbury and Staplehurst, preached and held two benefices besides the preachership. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 24v.) His will, made 13 April and proved 10 June, 1585, was mostly a declaration of enthusiasm for his faith. Spoke of himself as 'called to be a preacher of the glorious Gospell of Jesus Christ and a minister of his holy sacraments.' Strongly asserted his belief in the Trinity. Wanted to be buried in the cathedral next to John Bale and Robert Pownall

'my companions in exile, professors & preachers of the sacred word of our good God whose goodness hath restored us into our natyve countrye to reste and slepe together after our travell till the resurrection in the last day at what tyme all the deade shall rise againe and we with the rest of Good's electe shall to our greate only and endeles comforte mete Christ Jesus to judge us who hath already redemed & by his bitter passion saved us with whome we shall possess eternall lyfe & ioy everlasting "hec spes mea reposita est in sim meo."'

Beseley left all of his moveable goods to his wife Jane (née Lenard), and made her his sole executrix. His household goods, which included two gowns, a surplice, a hood and 'virginalls old', was valued at £34 5s 6d. His books, which were 'with

another', were valued at £6. (Maidstone MSS./P.R.C./32/35, fos. 167v-168; /P.R.C./21/7 fos. 263-64v.) The content of his will stands in sharp contrast to that of George Boleyn, canon of the cathedral.

EDWARD BARKER, S.T.B., was a six preacher by 1560 and continued to serve as one until his death in 1570. (Reg., pp. 534, 541.) Of Uffington, Lincs., B.A. (Cantab.) 1534, M.A., 1537, ord. deacon in Lincoln diocese in 1536, held an Essex parish 1556-60. (Venn, AC., I, i, 85.) Adm. R. Westbere 15 June, 1561, pat. Queen, which benefice he held until his death. (Reg., pp. 781, 875.) Described in 1561 as S.T.B., priest, married (wife Margaret), learned, licensed to preach, and held one other benefice. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 21; Cant. MS./X/8/8c, fo. 325.) In 1569 he was described as S.T.B., a six preacher, R. of Westbere and Brakested, whose combined annual value was £40 15s. He was resident and hospitable in Canterbury, and had preached thirty-eight times in the diocese in the previous year. (P.R.O. /S.P./12/60, fo. 207v.)

JOHN PRATT, M.A., was one of the six preachers in 1560, at which time he was declared contumacious for not appearing before Parker's visitors. I have found no trace of him holding this preachership before or after 1560. B.A. (Oxon.), 1557, and M.A. in 1560. (Reg., pp. 631, 635; not in the 1556 list of six preachers in Lambeth MS./'Registrum Poli', fo. 32; not in Woodruff, Six Preachers.) Moved: in 1559 a John Pratt became R. of Corby, London diocese, and later on he held several other benefices. He died as archdeacon of St. David's in 1607. (Reg., p. 199; P.C.C./1607/57 Huddleston; Foster, AO., I, iii, 1198.)

SIMON CLERK, M.A., appointed in 1561 and held the benefice until his death in 1583. (Woodruff, Six Preachers, p. 7.) Clerk probably obtained the preachership on the recommendation of William Cromer of Tunstall in Kent. Cromer wrote to Parker, 27 July, 1560, and in his letter he said that Parker had already, as a result of the petition of the Tunstall parishioners, given Clerk some office, and Cromer wrote that Clerk would make a good six preacher and schoolmaster. (C.C.C.C. MS./114B, fo. 743.) Cromer wrote in July, 1560, Clerk was not a six preacher in Sept. 1560 (Reg., p. 631), but by 1561 he was. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 19v.) Born at Braunston Rutland, B.A. (Cantab.), 1542, M.A., 1545, fellow at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1544. (Venn, AC., I, i, 346.) Simon Clerk, M.A., V. of Sittingbourne, granted a dispensation to hold two benefices in plurality, 20 April, 1561. (P.R.O./S.P./12/76, fo. 14.) In 1561 he was described as M.A., a priest, married, learned, resident at his Milton vicarage. Was also R. of Murston where he dispensed hospitality. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fos. 19v, 28v; Woodruff, op.cit.) In 1569 he still held these three benefices, the combined annual value of the revenue from which was 48 16s 1d; he lived part of the time at Canterbury, part at Murston, had preached fifty-six times at thirty-six different parishes mostly in the diocese plus sermons he had given at Milton and Murston wherever he was able, in the preceding year. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207v.)

ROBERT POWNALL (PUNDALL), D.D., appointed in 1561 and held the preachership until his death in 1571. (Woodruff, Six Preachers, p.7.) As a 'student', in exile with his wife and children at Wesel and Aarau during Mary's reign. Associated at Aarau with Thomas Lever, pamphleteer, translating, among other things, A Most Pythe and Excellent Epistle to which he wrote a preface strongly urging Christians to accept

the cross of persecution. The tract was obviously meant to encourage the protestants remaining in England. (DNB., for a list of works and translations; Garrett, Exiles, p. 259; STC., 10,432 and 20,174.) Sided with the Knoxians, ordained by Grindal, conformed in 1562. (DNB.) R. Harbledowne 1563-70 on pat. Parker, V. St. Clement's, Sandwich, 1564-69, on pat. Edmund Guest. (Reg., pp. 800, 882, 804, 859.) A preacher at Parker's visitation and appointed at the time by Parker or Yale to arbitrate a property dispute. (Ibid., pp. 534, 540, 541.) Described in 1561 as a priest, married, learned, not resident at Canterbury but lived at Dover and had one other benefice. (C.C.C.C. MS./580, fo. 19v.) By 1569 he lived and was hospitable at Canterbury. His revenue from the preachership and Harbledown R. was £34 2s per annum; he had preached fifty-eight times including nineteen times at Harbledown in the previous year. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207v.)

JOHN IGLEDEN (IGULDEN), B.D., col. six preacher 23 July, 1569, William Turner ob. (Reg., p. 853.) Held the preachership until his death in 1584. (Woodruff, Six Preachers, p. 8.) It is possible that Igleden came from Smarden, Kent. (Cant. MS./X/8/5, fo. 30.) B.A. (Cantab.), 1555, M.A., 1557, B.D., 1564, fellow of Queen's, 1553-70, university preacher in 1564, prebendary of Chichester 1565-78, R. Monks Horton, Rochester diocese, 1568-70, R. of Fordwich, 1572-74, and V. of Milton 1584-85. (Venn, AC., I, ii, 446; P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207v confirms that he had a Chichester prebend; Reg., pp. 1104, 1116.) 1 May, 1568, Parker granted Igleden, S.T.B., R. of Patching peculiar, a faculty to hold two benefices. (P.R.O./S.P./12/76, fo. 43v; Lambeth MS./723, fo. 24.) Igleden was described in 1569 as S.T.B., a six preacher resident with the archbishop, his four benefices, i.e., the prebend, the preachership, and the rectories of Wascham (?sp.) and Patching, yielded him £53 5s per annum. (P.R.O./S.P./12/60, fo. 207v.) Related by marriage to prebendary

John Hill. (Maidstone MS./P.R.C./32/38, fos. 93v-94.) Sometimes substituted for Thomas Lawse, Ll.D. as judge of the consistory court. (Cant. MS./Y/3/17, fos. 7v-8.)

EDWARD CRADDOCK, S.T.D., col. to a preachership 5 Aug., 1570, Edward Barker ob. Res. before 2 Feb., 1571. (Reg., pp. 593, 596, 861, 862, 874.) B.A. (Oxon.), 1556, M.A., 1558, B.D., 1565, D.D., 1566, 'Lady Margaret reader of divinity, 1565-94', col. by Parker R. of St. Mary Aldermay in 1570. (Foster, AO., I, i, 344; Reg., p. 861.) Probably died as 'parson of Aston Terrolde and vicar of Blubery, Berks.' in 1582. (P.C.C./1582/6 Rowe.)

JOHN WALSALL (ob. 1617), M.A., S.T.B., col. to a six preachership 2 Feb., 1571. (Cant. MS./Reg. V² (1567-69), fo. 100; Reg., p. 874.) Held the benefice until his death in 1617. (Woodruff, Six Preachers, p. 8.) B.A. (Oxon.), 1566, M.A., 1568, B.D., D.D., 1584, R. Corton Dinham, Somerset, 1567-74, pat. crown. R. Lutterworth, Leicestershire, pat. crown, 1569-71 and V. Appledore, Canterbury diocese, 1590-1609. 1 Oct., 1568, presented to Ipthorne prebend, pat. crown, adm. 20 July, 1569. (Foster, AO., I, iv, 1564; C.P.R. Eliz., IV, 217, 351, 218; Reg., pp. 281, 572.) 13 May, 1574, adm. R. Eastling, Canterbury diocese, pat. Nicholas St. Leger of Eastwell, Kent, esq., and his wife lady Katherine Fynche. (Reg., pp. 1093, 1115.) Schoolmaster to Francis and Anthony Bacon, and regarded lady Bacon as his patroness. (STC., 24, 995.) Two of his sermons, A Sermon Preached at Paul's Crosse (1578) and The Life and Death of Jesus Christ (1606, 1607, 1615, 1622) were published. (STC., 24,995-24,998.) One of his sons, Samuel, to whom he bequeathed most of his books, was also D.D. (Maidstone MS./P.R.C./17/63, fos. 14-15v.)

WILLIAM WOOD (ob. 1586), adm. to a preachership in 1570 which he retained until his death in 1586. (Woodruff, Six Preachers, p. 7.) Several men with names 'William Wood' attended Oxford and Cambridge during the appropriate periods. (Foster, AO., I, iv, 1673; Venn, AC., I, iv, 1455.) V. Petham and col. V. Waltham 3 May, 1567, which he exchanged for Hastingleigh in 1570. Also delivered weekly theological lectures. (Woodruff, Six Preachers, p. 7; Reg., pp. 831, 862.)

RICHARD STORAR (STORER), col. 22 Aug., 1571, Robert Pownall ob. Held the preachership until his death in 1581. (Reg., p. 881; Woodruff, Six Preachers, p. 7.) One of the accusers of the puritan printer, John Strowd. (The Second Parte of a Register I, ed. A. Peel (Cambridge, 1915), 108, 112.) Curate of Maidstone. Married and had at least four children to whom, with his wife, he left a small estate. Bequeathed his soul to 'God and to our Saviour Jesus Christ which hathe redeemed me with his bloude and delivered me from all my sinnes by whose grace I am saved.' Household goods, including a few books, appraised at £128 8s 5½d shortly after his death. (Maidstone MSS./P.R.C./32/34, fos. 168v-169; /P.R.C./21/6, fos. 138-140.)

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 MS. C.M. 1 72.
 MS. C.M. 1 73 A/1.
 MS. C.M. 1 73 A/2.
 MS. C. . 1 75b.

MS./C.M./1/74.
 MS./C.M./1/76.
 MS./C.M./1/78.
 MS./C.M./1/79/1-3.
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ANTII. Southsexie, Sur
ria, et. Middlesexie comital.
Una cum suis vndique
confinibus, Oppidis, pagis,
Villis, et fluminibus, in
eisdem, vera descriptio.

In Anno 1575
D. Elizabethæ Reginæ
a. 13



Canterbury pariter metropolitica in hac civitate
quæ Britanniarum temporibus Kaincent Romanis
deservit Sacrosancta Cantuariensis ecclesia
habet civitatem Regiam urbem, Oppida vna civitatem
et ecclesias parochiales 328.

Southsexia quæ olim anglicanorum archidiaconatus
fuerat, hodie in quatuor antiquas
appellatur: quæ sunt: Oxonia, Surrey, Middlesexia
et Surrey. 122.

Surreia cuius incolæ olim Regem nominabantur
habet Oppida mercatoria 8 ecclesias parochiales 128.

Middlesexia quæ Sacrosancti temporibus metropolitica
fuerat, hodie in quatuor antiquas
appellatur: quæ sunt: Oxonia, Surrey, Middlesexia
et Surrey. 122.

Londonium quæ est antea primaria civitas
et comitatus per se antiqua civitas
fuerat, hodie in quatuor antiquas
appellatur: quæ sunt: Oxonia, Surrey, Middlesexia
et Surrey. 122.

Christophorus Saxton descripsit